00066915

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 January, 2016

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION
TO THE REVOLUTION:

66915

ILLUSTRATING A MOST INTERESTING PERIOD OF
THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BY

4705

GEORGE COOK, D. D.
MINISTER OF LAURENCEKIRK.

———. *Sed in longum tamen ævum*
Manserunt, hodiéque manent vestigia.—HOR.

VOLUME FIRST.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY GEORGE RAMSAY AND COMPANY,
FOR PETER HILL, AND ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.
EDINBURGH; AND LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND
BROWN, LONDON.

1815.

Ad 20

66915

00066915

PREFACE.

The period comprehended in this work, now submitted to the Public, is one of the most interesting in our national history. The struggles about ecclesiastical forms and arrangements which took place in Scotland, after the introduction of the Reformation, not only throw much light upon the human character, and upon principles in our nature, the operation of which is never totally suspended, but they discover the origin, and unfold the progress of those causes which occasioned the civil wars by which Britain was desolated, and ultimately produced the state of society and manners that has now for more than a century happily existed.

To the politician, then, no less than to the theologian, it is important to become intimately acquainted with events by which go-

vernment and religion were equally affected; and if the Author has been able in any degree properly to execute his design, he trusts that he may consider himself as having made not an useless contribution to the general history of his country.

The sources from which information was to be derived were most abundant. In writing the History of the Reformation in Scotland, he found the case very different. The first actors in that splendid revolution were too much occupied, and too much exposed to danger, to devote a large portion of their time to record the transactions in which they were engaged; and, with the exception of a small manuscript volume of letters by Knox, and several of his letters preserved by Calderwood, almost all of which relate much more to his private life than to public occurrences, the contemporary works from which the whole essential facts with respect to the origin of the Scotish Reformation may be obtained, are his printed history, the histories of Buchanan and Leslie, and the state papers of that era, numbers of which have been preserved. There are, indeed, several manuscripts re-

lating to the subject; but as these were composed by men who lived in a subsequent age, they cannot, however valuable, be considered as of equal authority with productions upon which they avowedly rest, and to which their writers constantly refer.

But after the Reformers had succeeded in gaining the ascendancy, circumstances materially changed. The different parties, eager to disseminate their sentiments, had recourse to the press, and intelligent individuals recorded, for their own satisfaction, or with a view to that of posterity, the events which they witnessed. Hence, in composing this work, the Author's chief difficulty has been, not to discover documents, but to select them: and it is proper to mention this, that it may not be imagined that he was ignorant of books which he has not quoted, or be insinuated that, had he consulted them, the accuracy of his narration would have been increased.

He has carefully examined the works of the leading men attached to the different parties contending for victory. His references accordingly are numerous, and they

are so, not certainly from his wishing to make a vain display of labour and of erudition, but because, where hopes and passions are powerfully excited, it is necessary for ascertaining the truth, to attend to the aspect under which the same facts had, by those of opposite principles, been viewed and represented.

In addition to the printed volumes, the pamphlets and the state-papers, which he has enumerated as he proceeds, he had access to a great variety of manuscripts, the chief of which were the Buik of the Universal Kirk, Calderwood's large History, Rowe's History of the Kirke, the Life of James Melville, a Diary by Robert Trail, one of the Covenanters, and Wodrow's extensive collection, containing a vast number of documents of the highest value, and for the preservation of which we are indebted to the astonishing industry and the sound judgment of that accurate and most respectable historian.

The Author cannot deny himself the satisfaction of expressing his deep sense of the attention shewn to him by the learned members of the University of Glasgow, who,

with a liberality worthy of the patrons of literary exertion, gave to him the free use of Wodrow's manuscripts; and he begs, in a particular manner, to acknowledge the kindness of Principal Taylor, and of Professor Muirhead, who spared no trouble in selecting and transmitting the volumes which he solicited.

If, however, after all his anxiety and his efforts to procure ample materials, he has failed, as he flatters himself is not the case, in obtaining any work which would have been really useful, he trusts that some indulgence will be extended to him, when he states, that he has prosecuted his studies far from public libraries, and without the advantages with which many literary men have been favoured; and that to those who have the facilities for historical research, which arise from residence amongst the learned, and from easy admission to large collections of books, it will be difficult to convey an adequate notion of the labour and vexation which he experienced, before he could venture to begin the composition of his History.

He had selected a considerable number

of scarce or original papers, to be printed in an Appendix; but his work attained such a magnitude, that he judged it prudent to relinquish his intention.

He is fully aware of the difficult ground over which he has passed; that there is much and violent diversity of sentiment with respect to the conduct of the different parties; and that it is not easy to guard against the influence of prepossessions which, with every desire to exhibit the truth, may insensibly bias the understanding. He has only to say, that it has been his earnest wish to avoid every approach to misrepresentation, fairly to delineate the virtues and the errors of all sects and factions, and constantly to keep in the view of the reader, that it is wrong to attribute the vices or the excesses of individuals to the church or polity to which they belonged. How far he has succeeded, the public must determine; but whilst he is doubtful whether his solicitude to preserve impartiality will recommend his work, he has the satisfaction of thinking, that he has endeavoured faithfully to discharge his duty, and that

his object has been to extinguish animosities,—never to inflame them.

One advantage, he trusts, will be derived from a careful perusal of the incidents here recorded. It is almost impossible to attend to the disputes, to the contraction of mind, to the persecution, and to the oppression, which mark this period, without acquiring just views of the civil and religious privileges which we now possess; without feeling some degree of indignation at the assertion which the zeal of party has not hesitated to make, that decay of freedom and increasing intolerance characterize the times in which we live; and without being grateful for that unshackled social intercourse, and that liberty of discussion, which give a charm to human life, and open numberless sources of pure and elevated enjoyment.

Laurenceckirk, March 1815.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Note to Page 69, line 2, *for* Robertson's *read* Anderson's
Note to Page 77, line 4, *for* Vol. I. *read* Vol. VI.
Page 129, line 5, *delete* did
Page 229, line 3 from bottom, *delete* and
Page 248, line 4, *for* Drury *read* Dury or Durie, and so on in several other places where that minister is mentioned.
Page 386, line 7, *for* was *read* were

ERRATA IN VOL. II.

Page 277, line 8, *for* affimed *read* affirmed
Page 375, line 12, *for* renewed *read* received
Page 442, line 22, *delete* be

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME FIRST.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Situation of the Earl of Murray after assuming the Regency...Disadvantages attending it...Prudence with which he acted...He is supported by the Church...Mary escapes from Lochleven...Effect of this escape...Conduct of the Regent...Battle of Langside...The Queen takes refuge in England...Her defeat confirms the Protestant Ascendancy...Conduct of the Regent after the battle...Elizabeth's Views and Policy with respect to Scotland...Scotish Nobles attached to Mary write to the English Queen...Firmness of the Regent...A Parliament...Mary's Faction irritated...Scheme of Elizabeth ...Reluctance of Murray to go to England...Ecclesiastical Affairs...Discussions respecting Mary...The Regent returns to Scotland...Conduct of the Queen's Faction... Duke of Chatelherault arrives in Scotland...His application to the General Assembly...Ecclesiastical Proceedings...The Earls of Argyll and Huntly submit to the Regent...Convention at Perth...Proposed Marriage of Mary with the Duke of Norfolk...Maitland of Lethington apprehended...The Regent restores Tranquillity to

the Kingdom...He is Assassinated...His Character...Remarks upon the mode of his Death...That event universally lamented...State of the Reformation in Scotland at the time of his Assassination.....Page 1

CHAPTER SECOND.

State of Parties in Scotland after the Death of the Regent...All of them profess zeal for the Protestant Religion...Conduct of Elizabeth...Of the King of France... Obstacles to the Election of a Regent...Meeting of the Estates...The Earl of Lennox chosen Regent...Ecclesiastical proceedings, as affecting the State and the Church...Measures of the Regent to preserve tranquillity...An abstinence...Decided Conduct of Knox...Negociations respecting Mary...Regent gets possession of Dumbarton Castle...Archbishop of St Andrew's Condemned and Executed...Remarks upon his Execution ...His Character...New Commotions...Knox leaves Edinburgh...The Regent holds a Parliament...Interference of the Church...Of Elizabeth...Queen's Lords hold a Parliament...Unceasing Skirmishes...Kircaldy's Conduct reprobated...Elizabeth again interferes...Parliament at Stirling...Death of the Regent...His Character...Remarks on the Enterprize which terminated in his Death.....Page 81

CHAPTER THIRD.

Election of a Regent...Ecclesiastical Affairs...Petition to the Regent...Letter of Knox to the General Assembly... Deputation of the Assembly to Parliament...Act of Parliament respecting the Patrimony of the Church...Patriotic conduct of the Ministers...Ferocity of Manners ...Views of the Regent...New Ecclesiastical Arrangements...Views with respect to these...Of the Government...Of the Nobility...Of the Ministers...Assembly

or Convention at Leith...Its proceedings...Remarks upon the scheme of polity which it framed...The scheme sanctioned by the General Assembly...Sentiments of Knox...Scheme of polity carried into execution...Distracted State of Scotland...An abstinence from hostilities...Knox returns to Edinburgh...His bodily infirmity ...Massacre of St Bartholomew...Anxiety of the Regent to conciliate parties...His death and character...Illness, death, and character of Knox.....Page 150

CHAPTER FOURTH.

Earl of Morton elected Regent...General account of his political sentiments...Renewal of the War...A Parliament...Acts relating to the support of the Protestant Religion, and to the Revenues of the Church...Most of the Queen's Party submit to the Regent...He takes the Castle of Edinburgh...Death and Character of Kircaldy, the Governor...Death of Maitland of Lethington... ...His Character...Peace restored...Ecclesiastical proceedings...Wise conduct of the Regent...He departs from it, and alienates the affections of the People...He offends the Church...Impolicy of doing so...Arrival of Andrew Melvil in Scotland...General Assembly...First steps towards the introduction of Presbytery...Remarks upon a Speech of Melvil...Report respecting the lawfulness of Episcopacy...New efforts in favour of Presbytery...Conduct of the Regent...Presbyterians urge their object...Important resolution of the General Assembly ...Difficulties in which the Regent was involved...He Resigns...Remarks upon his Resignation.....Page 207

CHAPTER FIFTH.

Conduct of Morton...Death of Glammis, the Chancellor... Morton regains his influence over the King...Measures adopted by the General Assembly...Steps taken by the estates with respect to the new plan of Ecclesiastical

Polity...Short Analyis of that Polity...Remarks upon it ...Proceedings of the Assembly...Intemperate zeal of Melvil...The King's Letter to the Assembly...A Parliament...Policy recommended by Morton...The King becomes attached to two favourites...Suspicions entertained regarding the principles and views of Lennox...Method taken by him to remove them...Apprehensions of Popery...Negative Confession of Faith composed by order of the King...Schemes against the Earl of Morton... Interference of Elizabeth for his preservation ineffectual ...He is tried and condemned...His conference with the Ministers by whom he was attended...His Character.....Page 273

CHAPTER SIXTH.

Proceedings of the General Assembly with respect to the Ecclesiastical Polity...Act against Bishops...Remarks upon it...Acts respecting Readers and Pluralities...Establishment of Presbyteries...Activity of Melvil...State of the Court...Contest between the Court and the Ministers...Case of Montgomery...Other causes of dissension The Nobles dissatisfied...Raid of Ruthven...Proclamation occasioned by it...Means employed to render it popular...It is cautiously approved by the General Assembly...Convention of Estates...Departure and Death of Lennox...Amiable View of the King...Death of Buchanan...Situation of James attracts the notice of Foreign Powers...Influence of that situation upon the Presbyterians...Embassy to Elizabeth...The King makes his escape...His administration...The Earl of Arran recalled...Proceedings against the Noblemen who had been engaged in the Raid of Ruthven...Interference of Elizabeth...The Church harassed, and Ministers banished...Acts of Parliament relating to the church...Ministers Protest against them...Correspondence of the ba-

nished Ministers with their Congregations in Edinburgh ...Death of Lawson...Efforts of the King to gain the support of the Clergy...Plans for removing Arran from the King...Revolution at Court...Effect of this change upon the state of the Church...Conference appointed, and articles agreed upon by those who attended it...Conduct of Melvil to the Archbishop of St Andrews...General Assembly meets after an interval of some years...Measures adopted by it...The Court proceeds against Melvil.....Page 322

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

League with England...Resolution to execute the Scottish Queen...James interferes in behalf of his Mother... The Ministers refuse to pray for her...Duplicity of Elizabeth...Execution of Mary...Remarks on her Character...Elizabeth appeases James...General Assembly... Parliament...Important Acts...Alarm excited by the intrigues of Jesuits...Measures in consequence adopted...Decided conduct of James...Invincible Armada... It is dispersed...New commotions in Scotland...Vigilance of the Church...King's Marriage...Exertions of the Clergy to preserve tranquillity during his absence in Denmark...James expresses his gratitude...His speech in the General Assembly...Petitions presented to him by the Church...Conduct of the Ministers to the Archbishop of St Andrews...Death and Character of Erskine of Dun...Parliament deferred...Murder of the Earl of Murray...Perseverance of the Ministers...General Assembly...The Parliament meets...Legal Establishment of Presbytery...Remarks upon that Establishment....Page 405

WORKS BY DR COOK.

I. An ILLUSTRATION of the GENERAL EVIDENCE establishing the Reality of CHRIST'S RESURRECTION. In 8vo. Price 7*s*. *Boards*.

II. The HISTORY of the REFORMATION in SCOTLAND: with an Introductory Book and an Appendix. 3 vols. 8vo. Price L. 1, 11*s*. 6*d*. *Boards*.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Situation of the Earl of Murray after assuming the Regency....Disadvantages attending it....Prudence with which he acted....He is supported by the Church....Mary escapes from Lochleven....Effect of this escape....Conduct of the Regent....Battle of Langside....The Queen takes refuge in England....Her Defeat confirms the Protestant Ascendency....Conduct of the Regent after the battle....Elizabeth's Views and Policy with respect to Scotland....Scotish Nobles attached to Mary write to the English Queen....Firmness of the Regent....A Parliament....Mary's Faction irritated....Scheme of Elizabeth....Reluctance of Murray to go to England....Ecclesiastical Affairs....Discussions respecting Mary....The Regent returns to Scotland....Conduct of the Queen's Faction....Duke of Chatelherault arrives in Scotland....His application to the General Assembly....Ecclesiastical Proceedings....The Earls of Argyll and Huntly submit to the Regent....Convention at Perth....Proposed

Marriage of Mary with the Duke of Norfolk. Maitland of Lethington apprehended.... The King restores Tranquillity to the Kingdom.... He is Assassinated... His Character.... Remarks upon the Mode of his Death.... That event universally lamented.... State of the Reformation in Scotland at the time of his Assassination.

CHAP. I.

ALTHOUGH the Earl of Murray was, after the imprisonment of Mary, welcomed to Scotland with expressions of unfeigned satisfaction and esteem, his penetrating mind at once discerned the difficulties with which, if he accepted the regency, he would have to struggle; and to this, perhaps, must be attributed his hesitation about accepting that high and important office. *

1567. Situation of the Earl of Murray after assuming the regency.

The commencement of his administration was viewed with complacency by almost all descriptions of the people. They anticipated, from the revolution which they had witnessed, the conclusion of those scenes of violence and bloodshed which had interrupted national and domestic felicity, and the renewal of that regular dispensing of justice, so essential to security and comfort; whilst the Protestants not only rejoiced in the certainty that, with respect to them, the sword of persecution was sheathed, but were filled with the most ardent gratitude to Heaven, that the great defender of their cause was now invested with the supreme authority. †

* The History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. III. p. 297, 298.

† Buchanan, Lib. xix. p. 367. Spottiswoode, p. 212. Keith,

CHAP. I.

1567. Disadvantages attending it.

But the enthusiasm with which the Regent was at first regarded was soon, in the breasts of numbers, weakened or extinguished; and the few who had secretly regarded his assumption of the reins of government with disgust and abhorrence, were encouraged to declare their sentiments, and to follow the line of conduct which these sentiments led them to adopt.

There were many causes which contributed to produce this effect. Although, in the ardour of political or religious zeal, the interests of Mary had been generally disregarded, and all affection and veneration for her destroyed, yet the calamities with which her life was embittered, her rigorous imprisonment, the recollection of her captivating manners, and the tenderness with which sudden reverses of fortune are so naturally contemplated, conjoined with the envy which the elevation of Murray had excited, even in some of those who had laboured to promote it, created feelings of compassion for the unhappy Queen, or induced a part of those who had been her sternest enemies to join with her friends. *

There were not wanting pretexts, which were urged by the opponents of the new order of things

p. 469, where that writer gives a reluctant and qualified testimony to the popularity of the Regent's government. Calderwood's True History of the Church of Scotland, p. 14. Mackenzie's Life of Mary in Vol. III of his Lives, p. 303.

* Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 214. 215. Buchanan, Lib. xix. p. 367 and 369.

CHAP. I. 1568.

as justifying their discontent. The unsettled state of the kingdom during the struggles which accompanied the termination of Mary's reign, had given rise to a degree of licentiousness, which, under a settled government, it was impossible to tolerate, and which the Regent, with strict regard to the duty, which, by his oath, he had prescribed to himself, instantly after the dissolution of parliament, began to repress. In executing the measures requisite for so salutary an end, and for overawing or restraining those who were avowedly hostile to him, there was necessarily a vigour of jurisdiction, which, from the habits unhappily prevalent, was, by those eager to disseminate an unfavourable opinion of Murray, successfully represented as oppression; while it is not impossible that the confidence which he reposed in the steadiest of his adherents was sometimes abused, and his sanction was thus extorted to acts of severity, which, had he calmly judged for himself, he would have reprobated.*

The views of the disaffected were also promoted by an accidental calamity which pressed upon the kingdom. The harvest which preceded the resignation of the Queen, had yielded a deficient supply, and the horrors of scarcity, or of famine, were in some degree experienced. This effect of the visitation of providence was, with unpardonable, though

* Buchanan, p. 367. Spottiswoode, p. 214. MS. Hist. and Life of King James the Sixth, p. 22. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 90. Keith, p. 467—469.

common disingenuity, held forth as produced, or aggravated, by the neglect of government; and the wise forbearance which declined interference with the distribution of the necessaries of existence, was branded as indicating a total disregard of the sufferings which it was perhaps impracticable to alleviate.* CHAP. I. 1568.

But it was not merely against internal faction that the Regent had to guard. He felt himself in no slight degree embarrassed with respect to foreign powers. The king of France, whatever might have been his own private feelings, and those of his mother, towards Mary, could not, without a violation of decency, contemplate, with apparent indifference, the events which had taken place in Scotland. He accordingly dispatched an ambassador, with instructions to ask free admission to the presence of the Queen; to insist upon her being immediately released; and to threaten that he would instantly April.

* MS. Hist. of James, p. 22. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 52. The author of MS. Hist. thus writes upon the subject: "For the entries of the nixt year there was exceeding dearth, in respect of scant in the country, that so meikle was transported to other kingdoms;" and he then proceeds to intimate, that inhibitions of exportations were too long delayed. When we consider the time at which the dearth took place, and the state of commerce at that period, there can be little hesitation in concluding, that scarcity was not occasioned by the produce of the kingdom having been exported, but that the charge was brought forward to draw away public attention from the real cause, or rather to render this calamity subservient to the design of rendering government unpopular. In more enlightened times the same conduct has been too often followed.

CHAP. I.

leave the kingdom if compliance with his demands should be refused.*

1568. Even with regard to England the Regent had much ground of anxiety. He was well acquainted with the hypocrisy which had constantly guided the policy of Elizabeth towards Scotland; he had himself severely experienced the effects of that hypocrisy; and, although he could have no doubt that the changes which had taken place were agreeable to the secret wishes of that princess, he could not be certain that she would not assume the aspect of dissimulation, and, with the design of fomenting the dissensions which she might conceive it still to be her interest to cherish, thwart or weaken his government.† That he was really apprehensive about her support is apparent from a correspondence, part of which has been preserved. In reply to a letter which he had addressed to her, she wrote in the coldest and most general terms, not giving him the title of Regent. In a communication to Cecil he alluded to this circumstance; mentioned that upon it

* MS. Hist. of James, p. 22. Buchanan, p. 368. Keith, p. 471. Letter from Cecil to Norris, quoted by Keith from Cabala. The author of the MS. represents the ambassador as demanding the Queen's liberty in consequence of a promise which Murray had made to the King of France before leaving his kingdom. This is highly improbable. It is not likely that the King of France would have held any conference with Murray upon the state of Scotland, and there is even ground to believe that he endeavoured to intercept this nobleman when he was returning to his own country. Buchanan, p. 365.

† Crawford's Memoirs, p. 62.

had been founded a report that he distrusted the intentions of Elizabeth; and he expressly stated, "That although the Quenis majestie, your mistress, outwardlie seame not altogether to allow the present state heir, yit doubt I not bot her hieness in part lykis it wel enuch."*

Prudence with which he acted.

But although he must have been aware of the obstacles which were opposed to him, he was not intimidated. With admirable prudence and address, he provided for the continuance of his own influence, and for giving stability to the throne of the infant monarch. He took possession of the strong-holds of the kingdom; committed the government of Edinburgh Castle to Sir William Kircaldy of Grange, who had steadily supported the Reformation, and the measures which had promoted it; and, under pretence of quelling the disturbances which had become frequent in different parts of the country, he raised such a force as he trusted would be sufficient to prevent the efforts which would else have been made against him.†

To the French ambassador, he with dignity replied, that he could not overturn the resolutions

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 462.

† The History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. III. p. 301, 302. Keith, p. 468. He quotes an act of council commanding the lead of the cathedrals of Aberdeen and Elgin to be taken and sold for supporting the military; an act which must have given offence to the Earl of Huntly, who had preserved one of these cathedrals, but who was ordered to assist in carrying the act into execution.

CHAP. I.

1568.

of the estates, but that, in the next parliament, the requests might be urged and considered; an answer which satisfied the person to whom it was given, and which the Regent, who probably suspected that there was little affection for Mary in the French court, believed would prevent, from that quarter, any further interference. *

Elizabeth he soothed and conciliated by the strongest professions of zeal to promote the views with regard to Scotland which she had long entertained; and events soon occurred which led her cordially to strengthen his authority.†

He is supported by the Church.

But he was perhaps chiefly indebted for the influence which he continued to possess over the minds of his countrymen, to the firmness with which the ministers adhered to his government, and to the zeal which they uniformly displayed to secure its establishment. Delighted with the triumph of the Protestant faith, and justly ascribing that triumph, in a great degree, to his conduct, they contemplated, with anxiety and alarm, whatever threatened to weaken or to annihilate his power; readily perceiving, that the success of any party by which he was resisted would bring with it, if not the restoration of popery, that state of painful suspence, or of doubtful existence, which, under the reign of Mary, the reformers had deeply lamented. It was pro-

* Compare Buchanan, p. 368, with MS. Hist. of James, p. 23. Keith, p. 471. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 53, 54.

† Haynes' State papers, Vol. I. p. 463.

bably from this enlarged view of identifying their religious establishment with the regency of Murray, that, in the General Assembly succeeding the parliament which confirmed the regency, not only no complaints were made, but the strongest approbation of what had taken place with regard to the Queen, was expressed. This was more than could have been expected had the clergy conceived the foundation of the Protestant church to have been securely laid; for the promises which had been given to them respecting ecclesiastical property had been evaded or disregarded;—promises upon which they had anxiously insisted, and in the fulfilment of which the whole history of the Congregation shews that they felt the deepest interest. In the same assembly the Bishop of Orkney was deprived of his right to exercise his clerical functions for having married the Queen to the Earl of Bothwell; some steps were taken for procuring the thirds, which the members trusted that they would soon enjoy; arrangements were made for settling with the Regent's council any ecclesiastical plans which it might be found necessary or prudent to adopt; and the whole procedure evidenced full confidence in the Earl of Murray, and in the administration which he directed.*

* The History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. III. last chapter. Keith, p. 585, 586, and 590, 591. Calderwood's large MS. Vol. II. p. 80—89. The copy of this MS. from which I quote, is that in possession of the Church of Scotland, which is accurately transcribed, in a fair hand, from the original.

CHAP. I.

1568. May 2. Mary escapes from Loch-leven.

While the Regent was engaged in confirming his government, and was gratified with the success which attended his exertions, an event took place which might have proved fatal to his schemes, and produced a new revolution in the political and religious state of the country.

The determination to confine the Queen in her own dominions should have impressed Murray with the necessity of unremitting vigilance, and led him, while he softened, as much as they could be softened, the miseries of her imprisonment, to prevent the possibility of her escape. But he does not seem to have, in this matter, acted with the circumspection by which the usual tenor of his administration was eminently distinguished. Trusting to the solitary situation of the castle, on a small island in Loch-leven, and to the fidelity of his relations who inhabited it, he not only permitted himself to believe that he had no cause to apprehend any attempt to release Mary, but he treated with neglect several warnings that such an attempt would be actually made. *

The noblemen who were hostile to him were sensible that nothing could more effectually promote the success of their schemes than to accomplish the deliverance of the Queen, and to range themselves under the royal banner, which she would display. They accordingly deliberated upon the best mode of carrying their design into execution, and were,

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 90.

it has been asserted, much assisted by the intelligent, but versatile, Lethington. They were also aided by Mary herself. Still possessed of the beauty which contemporary writers have celebrated with all the gallantry and enthusiasm of chivalry; still adorned with those captivating manners, which, in happier times, had been contemplated with admiration and delight, it is not astonishing that she softened the rigour of her keepers, and that she inspired George Douglas, the half brother of the Regent, and who was at that period of life when generous feeling often silences the dictates even of prudence and of ambition, to concur in facilitating the escape upon which she had meditated.* CHAP. I. 1568. May.

From some suspicion that the young man was friendly to the Queen, he had been dismissed from the castle, but he made such arrangements, that, on a Sunday evening, when the family were at supper, she was, in a small boat, conveyed across May 2.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 90. Keith, p. 471. Calderwood's large MS. Vol. II. p. 91, 92. MS. Hist. of James, p. 24. The writer of this MS. attributes the part which Douglas acted to the love of money, but it is surely probable that a young man of eighteen would be actuated by more generous motives. He probably, as even Keith admits, was touched with compassion for the sorrows of the Queen; and it is not unnatural, as Spottiswoode, p. 215, mentions, that he should be allured by her courtesies. Calderwood, large MS. p. 93, says, that Douglas was allured to the Queen's familiarity at cards and games, and with her fair speeches, while Melvil insinuates, that there was a temporary misunderstanding between the Regent and his brother, and that the mother concurred in the plan of deliverance. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 304.

CHAP. I.

the lake; and, having reached the opposite shore in safety, she was received with joy by a party which, agreeably to concert, had come to escort her. No time was lost. She immediately mounted on horseback, rested a few hours at a house belonging to Lord Seaton, and then, prosecuting her journey, she next day reached Hamilton, where the great body of the noblemen who were devoted to her cause had assembled. *

1568. May 5.

Effect of this escape.

The intelligence of the Queen's escape was heard everywhere with astonishment, and numbers followed her to Hamilton. Many of the nobles who had taken even an active part in compelling her resignation of the crown, flocked to her standard; and, that no doubt might be entertained of their sincerity, a bond was subscribed by several of the most distinguished lords, Popish clergy, and landed-proprietors, in which, after expressing their gratitude to God for having delivered their sovereign out of the hands of her unnatural and disobedient subjects, they promised and obliged themselves, in the name of the eternal God, to serve and truly obey their natural princess, as her highness's faithful lieges and subjects, against all her enemies. †

* Buchanan, Lib. xix. p. 368. MS. Hist. of James, p. 24, 25. Calderwood's large MS. Vol. II. p. 93. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 90. Spottiswoode, p. 215. Martyre de Marie Stuart, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 230. Letter of Sir William Drury to Cecil, dated Berwick, 6th May, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 85.

† Crawford's Collection of Papers, Vol. III. p. 96. The bond was

CHAP. I. 1568.

Mary instantly resumed the title and authority of Queen of Scotland. She made a solemn declaration, that the acts by which she demitted had been extorted by violence, and could not be binding; and that she might appear to act with moderation, she sent a messenger to the Regent to inform him, and the lords who adhered to him, that she was delivered, by God's providence, out of captivity,—to desire that they would with quietness restore her to her former estate,—and to assure them, that, if they did so, she would wholly remit and pardon all manner of offences which had been committed against her honour and person.* She issued, at the same time, proclamations, calling upon her faithful subjects to support their lawful sovereign; and she enjoyed the momentary happiness which arose from beholding multitudes hastening to redress her wrongs. †

Conduct of the Regent.

The prospect which now presented itself to the Earl of Murray was most gloomy. When the report of the Queen's escape reached him, he was accompanied only by a few followers; he was at Glasgow, in the immediate neighbourhood of the place where his enemies had assembled, and where

copied by him from a MS. in the Cotton Library, Caligula, c. 1. It was subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many private gentlemen.

* Letter from Sir William Drury to Cecil, 7th May 1568, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 88.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 90. Spottiswoode, p. 215.

CHAP. I. they had been joined by Mary; he saw many in whom he had reposed confidence deserting him in
1568. this season of difficulty; and the anxiety arising from these sources must have been increased by a view of the dismal consequences which would result to the political and religious state of the kingdom, should the Queen triumph over her son's government. Yet, alarming as was his situation, he acted with an energy and a magnanimity worthy
May 3. of his exalted condition. He, without hesitation, gave orders for raising the country; and, in opposition to the advice of some of his counsellors, that he should retire to Stirling, he determined to maintain his position, and, whatever might be the issue, not to disgrace, by the appearance of timidity, the glorious cause which he had sworn to defend.*

He was soon joined by a faithful band of Protestants, who had not shrunk from the principles for which they had so lately struggled; but the Queen's forces were so superior, and the flame of loyalty, which had been unexpectedly kindled, was so rapidly spreading through the nation, that he would probably have fallen a victim to his heroic resolution, had not Mary, unfortunately for

* Buchanan, p. 369. Crawford's Collections, Vol. III. p. 56—58, where the proclamation is inserted from the Cotton Library, Caligula, c. i. Calderwood's large MS. Vol. II. p. 93, 94. Spottiswoode, p. 215. Keith, p. 472—474.

herself, I en persuaded to adopt the most fatal measures. CHAP. I.

The line of conduct which she ought to have pursued was apparent. She could without danger have retired to the almost impregnable fortress of Dunbarton, and had she done so, she would have daily acquired strength, and would probably have, without a contest, and under the happiest circumstances, again ascended the throne. Her own admirable understanding shewed her the wisdom of caution, and she even urged the nobles to execute this plan which she had suggested. There is reason to think that they were at first disposed to yield to her wishes; but unhappily the rapidity with which their troops multiplied, the contrast between their situation and that of the Regent, and the representations of the ambassador from France, who, though professedly desirous to prevent a renewal of war, was determined in favour of Mary by the number of her adherents, induced them to press upon their sovereign the importance of overwhelming the forces which were with Murray, and thus extinguishing, by one great effort, the hopes of her enemies. † The Regent was resolved at all events 1568, May.

* Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 90, 91. His account is entitled to much credit, his brother, Sir Robert having been honoured with the correspondence of the Queen, stating her intentions. Buchanan, p. 369. Spottiswoode, p. 215, compared with MS. Hist. of James, p. 26. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, Vol. III. of his lives, p. 305. Keith, p.

CHAP. I.

1568, May.

to hazard a battle. He saw the danger of delay, and he probably apprehended, that, if the queen should be successful, or even should set him at defiance, he might be sacrificed by Elizabeth. The apprehension was not without foundation; for the English Queen, upon hearing that Mary had escaped from Lochleven, gave instructions to her ambassador to make the most cordial professions of friendship for that princess, and to offer her the most decided aid in subduing the rebels in Scotland. *

Battle of Langside. May 13.

On the 13th of May, the Queen's army, commanded by the Earl of Argyll, marched from Hamilton, with the intention of conveying Mary to Dunbarton, if no resistance was encountered, but of not declining an engagement, should the Regent attempt to oppose them. He had placed his troops where he conjectured that the Queen's army would pass. After remaining for several hours under arms, he perceived that it had taken a different direction, and, instantly availing himself of the discovery, he passed a river which was between the armies, and by a great effort got possession of a hill commanding the road which the enemy had chosen. Argyll made a vigorous attack in hope of dislodg-

475, 477. Blackwood's Martyre de Marie Stuart, apud Jebb. Vol. II. p. 230.

* These instructions, dated in May, may be seen in Crawford's Collections, Vol. III. p. 90, 93, and in a note to p. 473 of Keith's History.

CHAP. I. 1568.

ing him; the issue of the battle was for some time uncertain, but the skill and gallantry of Murray and his adherents prevailed, and their opponents, despairing of success, fled from the field. The victory was gained with almost no loss on the part of the conquerors, and few of their antagonists fell during the action; but numbers were slain in the pursuit, and more would have fallen, had not the Regent humanely prevented unnecessary slaughter.*

The Queen takes refuge in England.

The queen had from a small distance witnessed the conflict. At its commencement, she was sanguine that it would terminate in the ruin of her brother; but when she saw that the event was so disastrous to herself, she was filled with anguish and despair; her understanding was clouded by the fears which distracted her, and, without reflection, she fled till she was at the distance of many miles from the field of battle. She stopped at the Abbey of Dundrennan, and a council was there held to decide upon the measures now to be pursued. To the amazement of her friends, she declared her resolution of entering the dominions of Elizabeth, and of committing herself to that stern and artful neigh-

* Buchanan, p. 369, 370. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 91, 92. Calderwood's large MS. Vol. II. p. 96—98 Letter of Sir William Drury to Cecil, in Crawford's Collections, Vol. III. p. 102. Spottiswoode, p. 216. MS. Hist. of James, p. 26. Keith, p. 477, 481, who has collected various accounts of the battle. Blackwood's Martyre de Marie Stuart, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 231. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 379.

CHAP. I. 1568.

bour. She heard, without conviction, the earnest and forcible remonstrances of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the most devoted of her friends, dwelling with the strangest infatuation upon the many and recent professions of kindness which Elizabeth had made to her,—but forgetting the inveteracy of her hatred, and that she had already endeavoured to deprive her of liberty. She dispatched a messenger to announce to the English Queen the intention which she had formed, and to carry a diamond which that princess had given her as a pledge that she might always depend upon her protection; and, without waiting for an answer, she embarked in a small vessel, and landed in Cumberland.*

Her defeat confirms the Protestant ascendancy.

This termination of a contest which might have again desolated Scotland, and which threatened the subversion of those civil and ecclesiastical arrangements which had been so recently made, may be considered as finally confirming the ascendancy of the Protestants.† The escape of the queen had naturally filled the ministers and their adherents

* Spottiswoode, p. 217. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 92. MS. Hist. of James, p. 28, 29. Camden's Annals, p. 135. Life of Archbishop Hamilton, in Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 379, 380. Keith, p. 481, 482. Calderwood's large MS. Vol. II. p. 99. Row's MS. Hist. of the estate of ye Kirke of Scotland, p. 18, 19. This writer says, she fled into England, where she was entertained in a princely way by Elizabeth, for many years. He must have had a strange notion of princely hospitality.

† Wodrow's Life of Knox in Vol. VI. folio of his MSS. p. 182.

with alarm for their church: they perceived that she would now be assisted by many, even of those who, under the banners of the Congregation, had opposed the ancient form of religion; and they dreaded that, if she should be victorious, she would not only dethrone her son, but would find, from the most powerful of the nobility, little opposition to her favourite scheme of restoring, within her dominions, the Catholic worship and hierarchy. They accordingly had no sooner heard of her having left the castle of Lochleven, than they appointed a public fast, to impress upon the minds of the people the greatness of the danger to which the pure doctrine of the Reformation was exposed, and they offered solemn prayers to the Almighty that her enterprise might come to nought. Spottiswoode, the superintendent of Lothian, considered himself as peculiarly called upon by the importance of his situation to be vigilant in preventing any change in the sentiments of those, over whose spiritual interests he had been appointed to watch, and he addressed an admonition to all who professed the Lord Jesus, and had abjured the Roman Antichrist, warning them that the sword of God's just anger was come; that it had devoured some; that it would cut down others; and that there was a divine call to stand fast in those principles which many had shamefully abandoned. Of the unhappy Mary, he wrote, with a bitterness and a severity little consonant with the mild spirit of that religion

1568.

CHAP. I. 1568.

for which he professed and felt the most ardent zeal, applying to her expressions, which the recollection of her early history, and of some affecting scenes which he had witnessed, should have in him destroyed the inclination to employ.*

But although the victory of the Regent must have been regarded by the reformers as so materially contributing to strengthen the foundations of their ecclesiastical system, their apprehensions might long have disquieted them, had Mary acted with the prudence which she had often displayed, or had she yielded to the counsels which she received. The defeat at Langside was a severe disappointment, but it should not have been regarded as decisive. Few were slain. The inclination of many of the nobles to support her was not weakened. The most distant parts of the kingdom were steadily attached to her; and had she, after the first impulse of terror was exhausted, accepted of the offers which were made to shelter her, till her friends could be rallied, she would soon have again beheld a numerous army ready to maintain her claims,—an army which, led by generals whom experience had rendered more cautious, might have compelled Murray to seek that protection from Elizabeth, which, when he before

* Calderwood's large MS. Vol. II. p. 94—96. The address has been published at full length by Keith, in his Appendix, and some account of it is given in Scot's Lives of the Scottish Reformers, a work highly creditable to its venerable author, p. 33, 34.

drew his sword against his sister, had been afforded to him.* CHAP. I.

By throwing herself into the power of the English Queen, she blasted every hope which might have been reasonably entertained, and she almost immediately found that the kindness to which she trusted was deceitful. From the moment that she entered England, she became a prisoner. She was denied access to the Queen, and for eighteen years, bending under accumulating sufferings aggravated by the most disgusting dissimulation, she dragged out a miserable existence, which was at last terminated by the execution of the detestable sentence that doomed her to perish on the scaffold.† Her captivity, in fact, put an end to all formidable opposition to the protestant church in Scotland. No serious attempt was after this made to overthrow it; and the history which in this work will be detailed, is the history, not of the reformation contending for existence, but of the various 1568.

* Buchanan, p. 369, mentions, that the remote parts of the kingdom were friendly to Mary. Blackwood, in Martyre de Marie Stuart, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 231, has recorded the wise advice given to Mary, and the offers made to secure her from her enemies in Scotland and England. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 379; and the History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. III. p. 207.

† For much interesting information respecting this melancholy part of Mary's history, and the duplicity of Elizabeth, the reader may consult the third volume of Crawford's Collection of Papers from the Cotton Library, to many places of which there will be occasion to refer.

CHAP. I. 1568.

forms which it assumed, and of the effects which the struggles connected with different schemes of ecclesiastical polity produced upon the political, the moral, the religious, and the intellectual condition of Scotland.

Conduct of the Regent after the battle.

The Regent having obtained a victory rendered so important by the flight of the Queen, turned his attention to the measures which, in consequence of it, he ought to adopt. The first view which he took of his situation led him to conclude, that some examples of severity would be requisite for striking terror into his enemies, and for preventing the new combinations which he had reason to dread; and he accordingly pronounced sentence of death upon several of the prisoners whom he had secured. The humanity, however, which he had so honourably displayed in checking the slaughter at Langside, gained the ascendancy in his mind; and, yielding to its influence, strengthened by the manly and liberal interference of Knox, who deprecated having recourse to capital punishments, he spared their lives, confining them till it should be safe to restore them to liberty.* Eager, however, fully to profit by the advantage which he had acquired, he took possession of the castles belonging to the family of Hamilton. He marched with a considerable force through the

* Calderwood's MS. Vol II. p. 99. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 471. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 59.

south-west counties, which he knew to be under the influence of the enemies of James, and seized some of the houses of the nobility who had opposed him, receiving, however, with the utmost graciousness and cordiality, all who solicited his favour. * CHAP. I. 1568. June.

With the well disciplined army which he had assembled, there can be little doubt, that, continuing the vigour which he had shewn, he would soon have reduced to subjection the great part of Scotland, and compelled the most powerful of the Queen's faction to renounce her cause. At the critical moment of his rising superior to his rivals, Elizabeth, however, interfered, and, under pretence of restoring harmony, preserved the party which had been on the brink of ruin. † Elizabeth's views and policy with respect to Scotland.

She had no sooner received intelligence that Mary had come to England, than she began seriously to consider in what manner it would be political to act. Though she was gratified that she had now the absolute command of the fate of this unhappy princess, and although she soon decided, that, contrary to every principle which would have influenced a generous and honour-

* Progress of the Regent in Scotland in June 1568, quoted from Cotton Lib. Caligula, c. i. by Crawford in his Collections, Vol. III, p. 156—160. Buchanan, p. 371. MS. Hist. of James, p. 30.

† Paper entitled the Queen of Scots' Requests, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 183. Buchan. p. 372. Letter of Sir Francis Knollis, probably to Cecil, 12th June 1568, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 129.

CHAP. I. 1568.

able mind, she would detain her in captivity, she saw that the utmost circumspection was necessary, to guard against the evils which might be apprehended from executing her intention. Jealous in the extreme of every interference with her own prerogative, she shrunk from the precedent which the virtual deposition of Mary, by her subjects, tended to establish; and she was struck with the hazard of taking a part connected with this transaction, which might be construed as sanctioning the turbulence and sedition that, thus encouraged, might at some period be employed to undermine her throne. To prevent this danger, whilst she gratified her wishes, she determined to express the strongest condemnation of Murray's conduct towards his sovereign, and to condole with Mary upon the hardships which she had encountered. Yet, amidst this condolence, she intimated to her, that, with all her affection for her, she could not admit her into her presence till she had vindicated herself from the foul charge of having been accessory to the murder of Darnly.* This charge had been circulated, and was known to Elizabeth long before she had invited Mary to take shelter in

* Paper entitled, "Things to be considered upon the Scotish Queen's coming into England," in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 102—110. This paper is dated May 1568. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 93. Camden's Annals, p. 108. Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 180, 181; and Middlemore's letter to Cecil inserted in that Collection, Vol. III. p. 131—140.

England; and her now urging it as the ground of her reserve, must have convinced the Scotish queen that she had much cause to fear that little regard would be shewn to her interest or her happiness. She had, indeed, soon been shocked by the conduct of Elizabeth. Upon her entering the dominions of that sovereign, she wrote to her a most affecting letter, giving a short but interesting account of her misfortunes,—reminding the English queen of her promises of support,—and soliciting that she would restore her to the throne from which she had been driven. She soon after sent her faithful and honourable counsellor, Lord Herries, to request that she might be favoured with an audience of Elizabeth, and to repeat her solicitations for speedy and effectual assistance. *

CHAP. I. 1568. May.

Elizabeth to all this coolly replied, that, before granting what was asked, the aspersions thrown upon Mary must be removed; but as Lord Herries had offered to submit the cause of his sovereign to her judgment, provided that no steps should be taken inconsistent with the dignity and honour of an independent queen, she soothed her by the assurance, that, in proceeding to the investigation which had been suggested, she had no intention to give comfort to any subjects acting against their Sovereign, but would do her

* Crawford's Collection of State Papers, Vol. II. p. 340—346. Paper of Cecil, entitled, Queen of Scot's Requests made since her coming into England, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 178.

CHAP. I.

best, after the matter was heard, to compound all differences without bloodshed, and to procure for her quietness in her realm, and peace amongst her people. She also stated, that, to use any form or process which would place her on a level with her subjects she would esteem most improper; her object rather being to have such of them, as the Queen of Scots should name, called into the realm of England, to be charged with such crimes as the said queen should allege they had committed; and that if any form of judgment were to be used, it should be against them.*

1568.

The cause of Mary was thus, by her own consent, committed to Elizabeth, who was hence furnished with a plausible reason for not permitting her prisoner to leave the kingdom.† This was of considerable importance, for the Queen dowager of France had written to the English Queen, strongly pleading for her daughter-in-law, entreating that she might experience the tenderness and respect which were due to her, that Murray should be discountenanced, and Mary reinstated in her kingdom.‡ To have paid no attention to such powerful mediation, would have been extremely hazard-

May 26.

* Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 181.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 93.

‡ Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 117. where a copy of the Queen dowager's letter, written in her name and that of her son, is inserted. There was a postscript to the letter, written in Catharine's own hand, but it was not legible.

ous; to have acted in express opposition to it, would have irritated Charles, connected as he was with the Queen of Scotland; and the fact is, that Elizabeth was apprehensive that strenuous efforts would be made by the French sovereign to restore that influence of France, which, with much difficulty, she had banished from the northern part of Britain. The deceitful professions of candour, which for a short time imposed upon Mary, were not less successful in satisfying her relations; and Elizabeth was soon left at liberty to pursue her favourite scheme of so managing the parties in Scotland, as to give the ultimate ascendancy to the Regent, but still to render him dependent upon her for the continuance of his power. * CHAP. 1568.

He had, immediately after the flight of Mary, dispatched a messenger to London, to give such an explanation of his conduct as he hoped would satisfy Elizabeth; and it is probable that, in consequence of this alone, she would have considered herself as justified in dictating the measures which he ought to pursue. † She, however, soon received a solicitation from Mary, who, having received an account of the situation of her followers, felt the

* Paper of Cecil, entitled "Thoughts upon the Queen of Scots' coming into England," from Cotton Library, Caligula, c. 1. in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 103—110.

† Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 105. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 310. Grainger's continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1024.

CHAP. I.

1568. utmost desire to save them from the evils with which, by the success of the Regent, they would be overwhelmed, and, for this purpose, she instructed Lord Herries to petition the English queen to enjoin Murray not to pursue hostilities against the opposers of his government.* With this she readily complied, and she immediately sent Middlemore, one of her agents, first to Carlisle to communicate the purpose of his mission to Mary, and then to Scotland to deliver her instructions to the Regent.† Middlemore found him in the full career of victory, and gave him the letter of which he was the bearer. The substance of it was, that he should forbear from all proceedings both by law and arms against the opposite faction, which was to act in a similar manner to him and his party, and that he should vindicate himself to her from the weighty crimes which his sister had objected to him,—crimes inconsistent with the duty of a natural born subject.‡

June.

* Queen of Scots' requests, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 180. Letter of Knolles, probably to Cecil, dated 6th June, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 115.

† Queen of Scots' requests, as last quoted. Middlemore's letter to Cecil, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 131—140.

‡ Letter from Elizabeth to the Earl of Murray, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 123, 124. Spottiswoode, p. 217. There is considerable inaccuracy in the accounts which have been given of Elizabeth's negociations with Murray, and of the effects produced by them, as I shall have occasion to point out, when speaking of the parliament summoned by the Regent. Buchanan, p. 371. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 73. His prejudices this author has not attempted to conceal.

He at once perceived, that the injunctions thus imparted to him would be most prejudicial to his cause, and he convinced Middlemore that this would be the case; but he did not hesitate to obey them, and he promised that he would willingly come, attended by some of the nobility, to refute the accusations which had been brought against him. *

Nobles attached to Mary write to the English Queen, 28th July.

The relaxation of his efforts inspired new courage into the followers of Mary, who, aware that it had been occasioned by the mediation of Elizabeth, flattered themselves that she was disposed to give them her support To confirm her in this intention, they addressed to her a letter written with great art, and admirably calculated to make a considerable impression upon her mind Reminding her of the manner in which their Queen had entered England, they implored her to place that princess again on her throne,—mentioned that her cause was the cause of all sovereigns, and that by espousing it she would promote her own safety, and be rewarded with the gratitude of a large majority of the inhabitants of Scotland. They entreated that, if she would not actively interfere, she would permit Mary to return to her dominions, that they might use the means which they had in crushing her enemies, stating, with great force and spirit, that if Elizabeth should, notwithstanding their suppli-

* Crawford, Vol. III. p. 182, 183.

CHAP. I.

1568.

cation, detain Mary as a prisoner, she would violate every dictate of honour, would be execrated by all princes who had any regard to integrity, and would excite the detestation of that part of her own subjects who were attached to the Scotish Queen.*

To give efficacy to their representations, they collected all the forces which they could assemble and succeeded in raising a very formidable army.†

The Regent, soon after the cessation of hostilities, had seen the danger with which he was threatened, and, to avert it, he summoned a parliament to consider the state of the kingdom, and to decide upon the sentence to be pronounced upon those of the nobility who, in violation of their own solemn acts, were now leagued in defence of the queen. ‡

* Letter from the Nobility of Scotland to the Queen of England, in favour of their Sovereign, against Murray and the rest of the conspirators, in Crawford's Collections, Vol. III. p. 191—194. It was dated from the town of Largs on the 28th of July, and was subscribed by Huntly, the Archbishop of St Andrews, Rothes, Fleming, Cassilis, Caithness, Ross, Sanquhar, Argyle, Eglinton, Ogilvie, Boyd, Crawford, Oliphant, Borthwick, Maxwell, Forbes, Arrol, Drummond, Sommerville, Yester,—a number so great that we cannot wonder at the embarrassment of the Regent.

† Spottiswoode, p. 217. Buchanan, p. 371. Letter of Sir Francis Knollis, dated 6th August, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 195.

‡ Spotti wode says, that the parliament was summoned to meet 25th June. Buchanan leaves the day blank, and Ruddiman, his annotator, merely mentions, from Crawford's Memoirs, that it met in July. The fact is, that it was summoned for the 11th of July, but

The Lords determined either to hinder the meeting of the estates or to disperse it, but the Regent distributed his forces so as to prevent violence, and through Elizabeth obtained from Mary an order to her partisans to disband. This was communicated to them by Lord Herries, who, at the same time, signified to Murray, that the Queen of England wished him to change his resolution of holding the parliament. To this he paid no attention, and the readiness with which his opponents, though convinced that he would adhere to his purpose, agreed to make no attempt to interrupt its proceedings, probably originated, notwithstanding their declarations to the contrary, from the belief that they were not in sufficient force to hope for success.* 1568.

Peace having now been restored, the Regent submitted to the consideration of the estates, the interesting subjects upon which he had called them to deliberate. There was some difference of opinion as to the mode of proceeding against the Lords attached to Mary. One party recommended that 16th Aug. A parliament.

did not meet till the 16th of August. Calderwood's large MS. Vol. II. p. 100.

* A letter from sundrie of the Nobilitie of Scotland to the Queen of England, dated 24th August, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 214. Letters of Lord Herries in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 198—204, and p. 211, with Letter of the Nobilitie last quoted, compared with Spottiswoode. p. 217, and Buchanan, p. 371. Camden's Annals, p. 158. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 311. mentions that Elizabeth wrote to Murray to disband his army and call a parliament; but this is contrary to what is established by writers possessing the best information, and even to the opinion of the adherents of Mary.

CHAP. I.

1558.

the most severe measures should be adopted, but Lethington suggested the more lenient resolution, that, whilst a few of the most powerful were subjected to heavy punishment, the greater number should be pardoned. This opinion was sanctioned, and sentence of attainder was pronounced against the Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord Claud Hamilton, and several of those barons who were most zealous and determined in the service of the Queen. The Earl of Rothes was banished for three years, whilst the door of reconciliation was left open for the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, and many of the nobles by whom they were supported.*

Mary's faction irritated.

The decision of parliament was no sooner announced, than the Queen's nobles expressed the indignation with which they were filled. They complained that, in assembling the parliament at all, the Regent had been guilty of a breach of faith, and they, with much plausibility, insisted, that as both parties had agreed to abide by the decision of Elizabeth, there was the highest injustice, before that decision was given, in subjecting the most considerable of their number to forfeiture and to death. It is, however, to be recollected, that the Regent had much cause of complaint against them, that many of them had broken the most so-

* Buchanan, p. 371. Spottiswoode, p. 218. Calderwood's MS. History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II. Mackenzie's life of Mary, Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 311. Letter of sundrie of the Nobilitie, &c. in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 214. Camden's Annals, p. 138.

lemn engagements, and that, although he had consented to submit to Elizabeth a justification of what he had done with respect to Mary, he never admitted that her removal from her high dignity was not a valid act, or that the parliament which confirmed his own authority, needed the sanction of a foreign potentate.

CHAP. I.

1568. August.

Disregarding, accordingly, the murmurings of the queen's faction, he proceeded to carry the sentence of the estates into effect, by which the nobles who suffered were so irritated, that they stated their grievances to Elizabeth, dwelling upon the injury which they had sustained from obedience to her desire, signified to them by their own queen; upon the contempt with which Murray had treated her order not to convene the parliament; and upon their claim that she would procure them redress,—concluding with an allusion to their former letter, which she had never answered, and with a request that Mary might be permitted either to go to France, or to her own kingdom. †

Scheme of Elizabeth.

This appeal had all the success which they could have anticipated. Impatient of opposition, and ac-

* Letter of Lord Herries to Lord Scroop and Sir Francis Knollis, dated 3d September, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 206. Grainger's continuation of Maitland, p. 1036.

† Spottiswoode, p. 218. MS. Hist. of James, p. 30, 31. Buchanan, p. 372. Letter from sundrie of the Nobilitie of Scotland to the Queen of England, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 314. Camden's Annals, p. 138. Anderson's Collections, Vol. IV. p. 125—133.

CHAP. I. 1568.

customed to regard the Earl of Murray as implicitly devoted to her, Elizabeth was highly dissatisfied that he had acted contrary to what he knew was her pleasure, and she instantly signified to him, that, if he did not intermit hostilities, and immediately come to England to give an account of his proceedings, she would send a powerful English army to accompany Mary to her dominions, and to place upon her head the crown, which she had been induced to resign. *

Reluctance of Murray to go to England.

The Regent, embarrassed as he was by this communication, felt as a sincere patriot. Although he had expressed his willingness to impart to Elizabeth the reasons which had guided his conduct, he considered this as a voluntary testimony of his respect, and of his desire to secure her co-operation. But when he found that she issued her commands as if Scotland were a dependent province; that she paid no deference to its parliament; and that she suspended her favour to himself upon his yielding the most humiliating subjection, he entertained the momentary resolution of encountering any hazard rather than barter that independence of his country for which he had so long and so nobly contended. † Prudential motives, however, led him to change his

* Spottiswoode, Buchanan, and Camden, as last quoted. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 201. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 73, 74. Grainger, p. 1037.

† Buchanan, p. 372. Spottiswoode, p. 218.

intention, and after many delays, for which he apologized, finding that the noblemen whom he wished to undertake the obnoxious office of accusing their sovereign, declined to accept of the appointment, he resolved to repair to York, associating with him in the commission the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Lord Lindsay; and, that he might be assisted by the most brilliant talents, attended by Secretary Lethington and the celebrated Buchanan. * CHAP. I. 1568. Sept. 27.

On the part of Mary there was sent her trusty and devoted subject, Lord Herries, and with him were joined Lord Boyd, Lord Fleming, Lord Livingston, and the Bishop of Ross, who rendered himself distinguished by the ability with which he pleaded the cause of his sovereign, and the steadiness with which, under the severest sufferings, he adhered to his loyalty. Sir Robert Melvil attended them, to use his good offices in behalf of the Scot-

* Letter from the Earl of Murray to the Queen of England, in Crawford, Vol. III. p. 209. To this letter is annexed the following note by the transcriber: "The letter is only signed by Murray, and by his subscription it appears that he was never capable of writing a missive in his own hand." By this rule of judging, many of the most eminent literary men might be declared incapable of writing, their subscriptions and their manuscripts being frequently as illegible as the signature of the Regent. Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 218. Calderwood, MS. Vol. II. p. 108. Buchanan, p. 372, mentions, that Lethington went with great reluctance, being now rather inclined to the Queen's faction, and the historian, being himself of the number, was probably well acquainted with the fact.

CHAP. I.

ish Queen. * The Regent arrived at York early in October, whither the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who had, at an early period of his life, been much engaged in Scotish affairs, were sent by Elizabeth, with power to hear and to determine all questions and controversies between her royal sister and the Earl of Murray. †

1568. Oct. 3.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

The detail which has been given of the distracted state of Scotland is necessary for throwing light upon ecclesiastical affairs in that kingdom, and for explaining, in a satisfactory manner, the measures which were taken to secure or to carry forward the great work of religious reformation. The parliament which confirmed Murray in the regency had abolished the Romish church, and declared the reformed religion to be the religion of the nation; but only the outlines of ecclesiastical polity were delineated, it being left to future Parliaments and General Assemblies to complete the regulations necessary for the stability of the new establishment, and for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy. Had the tranquillity, which, at the commencement

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 93. Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 228.

† Letter from the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, to the Queen of England, containing an account of their proceedings at York, dated 6th October, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. III. p. 241—245. Bishop of Ross's Negotiations, in Anderson's Collections, Vol. III. p. 13.

of the Regent's administration, it was earnestly hoped would long continue, not been interrupted, there can be no doubt, that, supported as he was by the ministers, and warmly attached to their cause, he would have endeavoured to fulfil the promises, which, before the abdication of Mary, the lords who promoted that event had made to them, or that, if he could not, without a convulsion, have wrested from the laity who had appropriated it, the whole patrimony of the church, he would at least have formed such arrangements as would have preserved the clergy from the anxiety and the misery of poverty, and, identifying their interest with the existence of the government, have secured for it that popular veneration, which he knew would be its most effectual support. But, as has been related, his mind was, almost from the moment that he was invested with his office, tortured with apprehension; he had to struggle against a most formidable combination; he was compelled to preserve the allegiance of all who adhered to the infant monarch;—and had he, under these circumstances, insisted upon the restitution which ought to have taken place, he would have created a strength of opposition which he would have been unable to overcome. This was discerned by the ministers, and, although it must have severely disappointed them, far from repining, they cordially co-operated with him;—they dreaded the restoration of Mary as what would bring with it the triumph of Popery,

1568.

CHAP. I. 1568.

and, revering Murray as the guardian of civil and religious liberty, they used their immense influence over the public opinion, in preserving to him the esteem and the submission of the great part of the community.*

But, while the troubled aspect of political affairs prevented those external regulations with respect to the church, which, had the country enjoyed tranquillity, would have been incorporated with the constitution, the utmost attention was devoted to ascertain its spiritual privileges, and to make such provision as was requisite for preserving its ex-

* From the feelings of Knox at this period, some idea may be formed of the general sentiments of the ministers. In a letter which he wrote, during the troubles which have been detailed, to one of his friends, he complains, that he was already dead to all civil affairs, and that his miserable life was to him bitter.—Sept. 10, 1568. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 107.

Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 518, mentions, that, in a convention held this year, it was agreed to restore the patrimony of the church, and particularly the tithes, by whomsoever detained since the Reformation, which agreement was signed by all the nobility, barons, and commissioners of boroughs, who solemnly promised, that the agreement should be passed into an act next parliament; and he quotes, as his authority for this fact, Spottiswoode's Refutatio Libelli de Reg. Eccles. Scot. p. 25. This, I suspect, amounted to nothing more than a general promise, such as the lords, before the resignation of Mary, had made. Had there been any public pledge by a convention, respecting the restoration of the patrimony of the church, some trace of its existence would probably have been found in Calderwood or Spottiswoode, and some account of the causes which prevented it from being carried into execution. The whole of the subsequent history confirms the account of this matter given in the text.

istence, for maintaining the order and the decency, without which it would have become contemptible, and for preventing any pretensions, founded upon reverence for the ancient establishment, from interfering with that scheme which it authorized as most conducive to the purity and the efficacy of religious instruction. CHAP. I. 1568.

In an Assembly, held in the beginning of July, several important regulations were adopted. During the infancy of the reformation, when the sanction given to it by Parliament was not confirmed by the Sovereign, although General Assemblies were regularly convened, no precise order in conducting business was observed. The consequence was, that much confusion often took place; that they who affected to be distinguished by peculiar fervour of zeal interrupted the calm procedure which wiser men wished to preserve, and thus gave to the most enlightened and judicious friends of the Protestant cause much anxiety and alarm. The present appeared to be the proper time for correcting an evil so inconsistent with the dignity of the church, and so necessary to be avoided in assemblies, not only protected by Government, but, from the peculiar state of the public mind, deeply affecting that government; and therefore, when Willock was chosen to preside, he, with much prudence, refused to do so, unless a pledge were given that greater decency should be maintained: To this all consented; and, as the best method of securing order, a law was 1st July.

CHAP. I.

1568. July.

passed, specifying who should, in future, be entitled to sit and vote in general assemblies, and by whom they were to be elected. It was ordained that none should have voice in these assemblies but superintendents, visitors of churches, who had the powers without the title of superintendents, commissioners of shires and universities, and such ministers as the superintendents should choose in their dioceses and synods, being men of knowledge, and able to decide upon the subjects proposed for consideration. This was a considerable step towards the settlement of the church. It marked out the constitution of the great organ of ecclesiastical law; it was admirably calculated to secure the assistance of the most intelligent of the ministry, whilst it gave a very powerful influence to the superintendents, who would naturally make choice of such of their clergy as they had reason to believe were disposed to preserve the form of government which Knox had introduced. The commissioners of shires were probably lay-elders; so that, even from the commencement of the reformed church in Scotland, there was introduced into its supreme judicatory such a proportion of the other members of the community, as gave to its decisions the character rather of general acts for the good of the people, than of regulations having solely for their object the ecclesiastical part of the constitution.

There was another law which tended to enlarge the influence of the superintendents. To prevent

such a multitude of causes as would have required too long an absence from parochial duty, it was enacted, that nothing should be discussed which the superintendents might determine or ought to determine in their synods, and thus the ordinary business of the church, by much the most important, was committed to the superintendent with his synod, who really had all the privileges which, at a subsequent period, were assigned to presbyteries. CHAP. I. 1568.

Having thus defined what related to themselves, the members of the assembly turned to what, at this period, most naturally engrossed much of their attention, attempting, by new statutes, to restrain the prevalence of Popery, or to guard against its supplanting the Protestant faith. For this end it was decreed, that Papists continuing obstinate should be excommunicated, and a committee was appointed to revise the form of excommunication which had been composed by Knox. This was done, and the report which they gave was sanctioned.

Some of the proceedings of the Assembly were designed to reduce to practice the great principle, upon which the existing ecclesiastical polity rested; for, while complaints were presented against some of the superintendents, several of them were appointed to report their diligence, thus shewing, that although they had peculiar privileges, they were obliged to submit to the directions of the whole church. To prevent the different classes of reli-

CHAP. I. 1568.

gious instructors or ministers from being confounded, superintendents were enjoined to command the readers to abstain from dispensing the Lord's Supper.

The Assembly, before its conclusion, deliberated upon the case of the Bishop of Orkney, who had solemnized the unhappy marriage between the Queen and the Earl of Bothwell. He had, for this prostitution of his sacred office, been, as was already mentioned, deposed from the ministry; but having now expressed his contrition, and submitted himself to the church, he was restored, upon this condition, that he should, in the first sermon which he preached, make a public acknowledgement of his fault, and crave forgiveness of God, of the church, and of the state.

In the preceding parliament, a number of persons had been named, with power to determine points connected with the polity and jurisdiction of the church. They had never assembled, and a petition was presented to the Regent and Council, that a day for their assembling should be fixed. To this the Regent cheerfully consented, and the 8th of August was appointed; but the troubles which agitated all classes of the community prevented the meeting from being held. *

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 100—106, and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 44, 45. Spottiswoode, p. 219. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 517, 518. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 88—96.

CHAP. I.

1568. Discussions respecting Mary.

The commissioners, having assembled at York, began the discussions relating to the affairs of Scotland, and to its unhappy Queen. It belongs not to this history to detail the representations of the different parties, the artful policy of Elizabeth, her removal of the Court to London, and the varying views of the persons who were engaged in this singular cause; but, from the whole proceedings, there can be little doubt that Elizabeth only sought a pretext for covering her real designs, and that, far from being anxious, as she professed, to vindicate Mary, and restore her to her crown, she would have been disappointed had the vindication been complete, and would have devised some new expedient for continuing the imprisonment of the captive Queen, and for supporting her enemies. *

* The proceedings respecting Mary have been fully recorded and discussed by many writers of opposite political sentiments; it is sufficient therefore to observe, in general, that valuable information upon the subject may be derived from Crawford's Collection of State Papers, Haynes' Collection, and Bishop Leslie's Negotiations. Dr M'Crie in his Life of Knox, which I did not see till I had written a considerable part of this history, but of which I shall, in the revisal, avail myself, has, in an excellent note, put in a just point of view the strange account of Murray's conduct upon this occasion, which Sir James Melvil, who ought certainly to have been well informed, but who seems to have sacrificed his integrity, or at least his love of truth, to his prejudice against the Regent, has given in his Memoirs, p. 96, 97. It may be here mentioned, as a singular fact, that, previous to the meeting at York, Elizabeth proposed to Mary this extraordinary condition of her restoration, that she should abandon the mass in Scotland, and receive the common-prayer after the form of England; and that Mary did actually express high approbation of the common-

CHAP. I.

1569. January. The Regent returns to Scotland.

The Regent, wearied out with the delays which had taken place in the investigation, and convinced that no decision would be pronounced, determined to return to Scotland. He was escorted to the borders by an armed force, as a testimony of respect, and to preserve him from any accident to which, in the distracted state of the country through which he was to pass, he might have been exposed; and he safely reached his own country, where his presence had become necessary for restoring or preserving tranquillity. *

Feb. 2.

Conduct of the Queen's faction in his absence.

During his stay in England, attempts had been made to undermine his authority, and to convince the people that he had betrayed his country. The Earl of Huntly employed his influence in the north of Scotland to render himself formidable; the family of Hamilton improved the advantage afforded to them by the absence of the Regent, in preparing for some enterprize hostile to the continuance of his power; and, while the whole of his enemies were thus combining, his friends were dispirited, and looked forward to his appearance amongst them as to what alone could secure his

prayer, receive into her service an English chaplain, and listen with attention to the sermons in which he inveighed against popery. Letter of Sir Francis Knolles, dated Bolton Castle, 28th of July, copied by Crawford from the original in the Cotton Library.

* Spottiswoode, p. 227. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 118, 119. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 501. Notes of Queen Elizabeth's Reign by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, at the end of Munden's Collection of State Papers.

government. Of this they made the most earnest representations, and these were enforced by the agents whom Elizabeth employed to watch over the situation of Scotland, and to report to her what was requisite for keeping it in the condition in which she wished it to remain. *

CHAP. I. 1569.

But Murray's party had another cause of apprehension and alarm. The Queen's faction believed that they had been furnished with some particulars connected with the negociation in England, the knowledge of which might sink, in the estimation of his countrymen, the protector of the young monarch. Amongst the proposals which were made for guarding the throne of James, and rendering this consistent with the views of Elizabeth, several were totally incompatible with the real interest of his kingdom; and the lords attached to his mother having received an exaggerated account of these proposals, at once concluded that they must have originated with the Regent. Having met at Glasgow, they published an address or manifesto, in which they asserted that the Earl of Murray and his associates had agreed that the King should be educated in England, and that the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling should be garrisoned by the

* Letter of Kircaldy of Grange to the Earl of Murray, dated December 31, 1568, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 80, 81. Letter of Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, dated Berwick, 15th January 1569, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 502. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 37. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 113.

CHAP. I.

1569.

troops of that kingdom; in return for which concessions, it had been stipulated that Murray should be declared legitimate, and the lawful successor of his nephew, in the event of that Prince dying without issue. These assertions agitated all who felt a real love for their country, and Elizabeth judged it prudent to counteract their effect by a proclamation against what she termed the slanderous writings in Scotland, denying, upon the honour of a sovereign, that there was any truth in what had been reported and attested by the nobility, in whose names it was announced. The Regent felt the obligation under which he was laid by this candid and honourable interference of the English Queen, and he expressed to Cecil the gratitude it had excited.*

Immediately upon his arrival, he summoned a convention of the most powerful of his adherents to meet at Stirling; he submitted to them what had been done by the commissioners in England; and he had the satisfaction of hearing the whole applauded and sanctioned. Sensible that the only mode of preventing the horrors of civil dissension was to be prepared speedily to suppress it, he or-

* Letter of the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Earl of Argyll, and other nobles, to Kircaldy of Grange, dated Glasgow, 9th January 1569, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 78, 79. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 500, where there is a copy of Elizabeth's proclamation. Do. p. 503, and p. 506. Calderwood's MS. History, Vol. II. p. 115, 119.

dered his majesty's faithful subjects to meet him at Glasgow, early in the following month; that in the part of the kingdom in which the influence of his enemies was greatest, that influence might be destroyed. *

CHAP. I.

1569. Feb.

While the convention was assembled, or within a few days after it had dispersed, the Duke of Chatelherault arrived in Scotland. He published an appointment which he had received from Mary to administer, in her absence, the affairs of government, and he prohibited acknowledging any sovereign but the captive Queen. †

Duke of Chatelherault arrives in Scotland, Feb. 20.

From an early period after leaving Scotland, probably from the time of her suspecting Elizabeth's design to detain her as a prisoner, Mary had thrown out insinuations that the Duke would

* Spottiswoode, p. 228. Buchanan, p. 278. Letters of Lord Hunsdon to Secretary Cecil, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 508, 509. Spotriswoode and Buchanan represent the Regent's order to assemble troops as issued after the convention, and after the Duke of Chatelherault had arrived in Scotland; but Lord Hunsdon, who had received a letter from the Regent himself, states, that the gathering of the forces was by the appointment of the convention, and there can be little doubt that this was the case. His last letter is dated 21st February. In it he says, that he had received a letter from Murray, on the 20th, mentioning that forces were ordered to join him by the 10th of March. But the Duke did not come to Scotland till the 20th of February, and consequently the order must have been issued before his arrival. Indeed, it is not likely that the Regent, contemplating, as he did, much opposition, would not solicit the convention's approbation of the strong measures which he judged it prudent to adopt.

† Buchanan and Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

CHAP. I. 1569.

prosecute her claims. Even in the course of the former year, Sir Francis Knollis wrote to Cecil, "that the strength of Mary, in Scotland, depended not upon herself, but upon the Duke of Chatelherault, to whom Lord Herries and many others would adhere;" and soon after, in giving an account of Middlemore's introduction to her, he stated, "that she plainly affirmed that, however she was detained, the Duke being heir-apparent, would prosecute her quarrel with the power of the French, and all the aid of her dowry." * He was in fact dispatched from France, where he had for a considerable time lived in obscurity; and passing through England, he was stopped by Elizabeth, who remonstrated against his intention of interfering with the affairs of Scotland; but at length permitted him to proceed on his journey. †

His application to the General Assembly.

When he issued his proclamation, in name and by authority of the Queen, he was not ignorant of the opposition which he would have to encounter from the vigour of the Regent, and knowing the great influence of the Reformed Church, not merely over the people, but over Murray, who depended so much

* Letters of Sir Francis Knollis to Cecil, dated 11th of June and 13th of June, copied from originals in the Cotton Library, Caligula, c. 1. by Crawford, and inserted in his Collection, Vol. I. p. 125, and p. 130, 131.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 113, 114. MS. Hist. and Life of James VI. p. 37. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 322, 323. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 494, 495.

upon its cordial support, he addressed to the General Assembly a long letter, in which he explained his intentions; declared, that anxiety to save his country had induced him to leave France; that he was more affected by the dissensions which had taken place between his Sovereign and a part of her subjects, than by his own grievances; that he was desirous to restore peace, and that he was so confident in his own merits, and in those of his predecessors, that he would not fear the issue of any attempt which the Regent might make against him. He concluded, by requesting the Assembly, in God's behalf, to make his mind and intention known to the people; or, if they did not think his desires and offers reasonable, that they would send a deputation to converse with himself, whom they would find disposed to be directed in all matters by what was equitable, and in conformity with the word of God. *

1569. Feb. 27.

This letter the superintendents communicated to the Regent, who, being desirous to prevent the miseries of civil war, expressed his desire, that, if it could be done consistently with the allegiance which was due to the reigning Monarch, an agreement should be made with a nobleman so high in rank, and whose name might give authority to fac-

* Spottiswoode, p. 228, with whose account may be compared that given by Crawford of Drumsoy, in his Memoirs, p. 107. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 99—101.

CHAP. I. 1569.

tion, and he permitted the superintendents to open a negotiation. It was in consequence of this moderate and wise determination, after some discussion, agreed that the Duke, with some other noblemen, should come to Edinburgh, and submit himself to the King's authority; that he and his friends should be restored to their honours and possessions; that sureties should be given for the fulfilment of the treaty; and that, upon the same conditions to which he had assented, all who were connected with him should be accepted. *

Whether he was sincere in acceding to these terms it is difficult to ascertain, but upon their being made known to the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, they refused to comply with them, and the Duke, when the period of his doing homage arrived, had recourse to equivocation and subterfuge; for, although he came to Edinburgh, he insisted that the whole business should be delayed. The Regent was not in this way to be deluded; he considered the Duke's conduct as a breach of the treaty, and he ordered him and Lord Herries to be committed to the Castle. † This was unquestionably a strong

* Spottiswoode as last quoted. Buchanan, Lib. p. 378. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 512, 513. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 37, 40. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 123.

† Spotti voode and Buchanan, as last quoted. Grainger, p. 1084. Haynes, State Papers, Vol. I. p. 514, 515, inserts a letter from Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, which fully establishes the account of Buchanan and Spottiswoode. Sir James Melvil, in his Memoirs, p. 101, disapproves of this step, but his account is in some respects evidently inac-

measure, but it was required by his situation, which was so hazardous, as to have inspired even Elizabeth, who unceasingly watched over the state of Scotland, with the strongest apprehensions regarding the stability of his government. She wrote to him, lamenting the increase of the troubles of the realm, which tended to a kind of civil war, promising to employ all good means to remove them, and she dispatched a confidential agent, with instructions carefully to examine into the increase or diminution of the Regent's friends, to recommend caution in proceeding to extremities, but to promise, that, if it should be necessary, such secret aid from England,—for she wished that it might, if it suited her purposes, be disavowed,—would be given as would establish his superiority. *

1569. March 17.

Ecclesiastical proceedings.

The Assembly, to which the Duke of Chatelherault applied to enforce his pretensions, did not lose sight of the great design of their meeting, carrying on the Reformation, and gradually removing the

curate, and he seems to have been an advocate for that tolerating policy, which, in the state in which Scotland then was, would have been most hazardous both to the country and the Regent.

* Letter of Elizabeth to the Earl of Murray, dated March, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 513. Memorial for Henry Middlemore being sent into Scotland, dated March 17, and copied from the original by Crawford, Vol. I. p. 94. This memorial does not exhibit Elizabeth in an honourable light, and accordingly Sir Robert Cotton or Crawford has added this sarcastic note: "This memorial is all written by Cecil, and shews how fairly and squarely the queen of England dealt with the queen of Scotland."

CHAP. I.

1569. February and July.

abuses, which, notwithstanding the new establishment, still remained; and they directed their attention to the same important objects in the meeting held in the summer of this year.* The patrimony of the church often became the subject of anxious deliberation, and indeed the utmost vigilance was requisite to preserve it from being wholly alienated from the Protestant clergy. In the Assembly convened in February, various resolutions with respect to it were adopted. Numbers who had received benefices under the old ecclesiastical system, considered, that, when they paid the third of these benefices, agreeably to the act of parliament, they did all which they were bound to do for the church, whilst the ministers regarded this as an abuse, and addressed the Regent, imploring that it might be remedied. They also beheld, with much apprehension, the prevalence of various practices, having for their object to transfer to the laity what the legislature intended for upholding the ministry; and they therefore employed their influence in both the Assemblies which were held in the course of this

* The Assembly had met in December 1568, but, from the prevalence of an infectious disease, and the unusual severity of the weather through Scotland, it was adjourned to February 1569, to which meeting it was that the Duke addressed his letter. This explains how it happened that two meetings of the Assembly were held within so short a period. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 97. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 114. Of this infectious disease Calderwood mentions, that it cut off, in Edinburgh and the Canongate, 2550 persons. Ditto, p. 119.

year, in endeavouring to procure some regulations against letting long leases of ecclesiastical revenues, and against what was denominated "chopping and changing of benefices, and selling the same." * CHAP. I. 1569.

But they also found it requisite to fix the mode in which their proportion of the thirds should be distributed to the church. In consequence of an act of the parliament which established the Protestant religion in Scotland, the thirds of benefices were, under certain conditions, granted for the subsistence of the ministers; and this Assembly enacted, that these thirds should, with the advice and consent of the commissioners of provinces, be assigned to exhorters, ministers, and readers, in that part of the kingdom in which they officiated. That full efficacy might be given to this ordinance, they requested the Regent and secret council to interpose their authority for separating the thirds from the rest of the emoluments of benefices, and for giving to the church the same facility in drawing its proportion as was enjoyed by the persons who possessed the remainder. Keeping in view, however, the original conditions under which the thirds had been assigned to the ministers, and not seeking to make, July.

* Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 98, 104. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 120—123, and 127—137. Spottiswoode, p. 223. He attributes to the Assembly which commenced in February, not only its own acts, but some which belong to the subsequent Assembly in July.

CHAP. I.

1569. July.

with respect to these conditions, any innovation, they cheerfully acquiesced in a portion of the thirds being allotted for the maintenance of the royal household, and for contributing to the national expenditure.

Whilst they were occupied upon this subject, they received a long letter relating to it from the Regent, dated on the last day of June, in which he discloses his views upon it; furnishes much interesting information respecting the state of the Protestant church; urges them to specify the amount of the thirds to be devoted to civil purposes; and asks their advice upon various points on which he was called to pronounce a decision. Upon these points they delivered their sentiments; but it does not appear that they came to any resolution as to the chief matter of the letter, probably thinking that they had sufficiently expressed their determination with regard to it in their previous decisions. *

But whilst the ministers most naturally were solicitous that they should not be again reduced to that hopeless poverty under which they had long suffered, they displayed the pious and disinterested spirit by which they had been so often guided. Far from imitating the church of Rome, in appropriating to their own order enormous revenues, they

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 106—110. The letter has been printed by Dr M'Crie, in the 19th No. of the Appendix to the Life of John Knox. It is also to be found in Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 133—136.

kept steadily in their contemplation the principles, which, in the purest times of Christianity, had been embraced; they laid it down as a fundamental position, that the work of the ministry should be performed by all who shared in the emoluments assigned to it; and, proceeding on this idea, which should never have been forgotten, they presented, for the sanction of the Regent, this important article, that such as had a plurality of benefices should choose one and resign the rest. * CHAP. I. 1569. July.

The eagerness displayed to promote the happiness of the lower orders of the community, reflects much credit upon the feelings and the sentiments which at this period influenced the reformers. Beholding with the deepest compassion those who had been reduced to poverty, they petitioned that a part of the teinds should be appropriated for their relief; and they suggested an arrangement, dictated by the same benevolent spirit as the former, but of a more unexceptionable nature, for preventing the oppression which often resulted from the rigorous exaction of tithes. They requested that the labourers of the ground should, upon paying a reasonable compensation, have power to lead or place in security their own teinds, and not be exposed to the harassing and grating oppression which the interference of men taking no concern in their wel-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 104. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 127—137. Spottiswoode, p. 228.

CHAP. I. 1569.

fare too often occasioned.* The policy of this conduct is as striking as its propriety. By thus conciliating the affections of the people, and by thus making them experience the effects of their anxiety for their prosperity and happiness, they fixed their religious doctrines, and the church which inculcated them, in the hearts of their countrymen, whilst they acquired an influence over their opinions which certainly had no small power in deciding the national character, and in forming those political attachments, the strength of which was, at an after period, under the most trying circumstances, rendered manifest.

There are still a few more of the acts of the Assemblies of this year, which throw much light upon the nature of the Reformation, and of the state of sentiment which at this time prevailed.

The Earl of Huntly, who possessed vast authority over a great part of Scotland, had deposed the collectors of thirds appointed by the church, and had substituted others devoted to himself; and in this he had been imitated by many who were much disposed in every thing to venerate his example. It was impossible in the Assembly to pass over a proceeding which threatened those who composed it with the most serious evils; and they accordingly prayed the Regent, not only that the injury might be redressed, but that they might proceed, from

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 104. Spottiswoode, p. 231.

the remonstrances which they had made to Huntly, even to excommunication, in case of contempt. CHAP. I. 1569.

In every step of their progress they found themselves embarrassed by the undefined state of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Desirous to put an end to this confusion, they had, at their meeting in the commencement of the year, petitioned that the two jurisdictions should be separated, and, when they met in July, they repeated the petition. The Regent saw the necessity of the measure, and he actually ordered the persons who had been named by parliament to assemble for the purpose of defining what should be included under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, according to the word of God, and the principles recognized in the act by which they had been originally appointed; but it is probable that the events which soon occurred prevented this from being done, and thus left room for those arrangements which afterwards changed the aspect of church polity in Scotland.*

It is impossible to dwell upon the whole proceedings which have been detailed, without being struck with the contrast which they present to the transactions of the reformers in the earlier period of their history. During the reign of Mary, they often shewed little reverence for her authority, and

* Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 103—105. Spottiswoode, p. 228. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, &c. p. 180. In this work it is supposed that the thirds were not granted to the church till this year, which is a mistake.

CHAP. I. 1563.

even sometimes seemed to set it at defiance; but they now appear solicitous to act in harmony with the civil power, proceeding with the utmost moderation in their demands, and averse from exercising their spiritual privileges, without the sanction of the Regent and the council. This surely affords a strong confirmation of the purity of their motives, and of the wisdom of their conduct. While the existence of the Protestant faith was in danger, and while they considered that the sovereign was secretly plotting for its destruction, and, with it, for the destruction of the political liberty which it had been instrumental in communicating to the kingdom, they watched, with unwearied vigilance, and resolved to make any sacrifice, rather than see the ruin of the glorious cause which they were pledged to defend. But the moment that the danger was past, the moment that the constituted authorities avowed themselves friendly to civil and religious freedom, they changed their mode of proceeding, and became as zealous in supporting the measures of the court, and in giving effect to its attempts to preserve order, as they had been in opposing the Queen. When this is calmly examined, the clamour of sedition and rebellion, which has been raised to cast a shade over their virtues, and to obscure the benefits which they purchased, appears destitute of foundation. We recognize them as men, eager indeed to guard what they conceived to be the purity of di-

vine truth, but scrupulously careful not to embarrass a government labouring to promote the great ends which all governments should steadily regard. They showed that they were willing to sacrifice whatever could be sacrificed, without a violation of conscience, rather than, by a too rigid adherence to their pretensions, to spread discontent through the kingdom. There can be no doubt, that the Regent perceived and valued the aid which he derived from them; and that all questions of right would have been soon and amicably decided, had not new troubles engrossed his attention, and terminated in an event which the zealous friends of the Protestant faith loudly and sincerely deplored. 1569.

The Earls of Argyll and Huntly submit to the Regent.

The firmness of Murray, in imprisoning the Duke of Chatelherault and Lord Herries, filled the rest of the Lords attached to the Queen with apprehension or despondency. The Earls of Argyll and Huntly, convinced that resistance was vain, became anxious to make their peace with the Regent, and a day was appointed to each of them for arranging the circumstances connected with their submission. Argyll found little difficulty in regaining favour; for although he had strenuously supported Mary's pretensions, his conduct had, upon various occasions, been marked by mildness and forbearance, and his friendship with Murray in the early period of life, removed every inclination to impose conditions which he

CHAP. I. 1569.

might esteem severe. He was accordingly only requested to swear fidelity to the King, and he at once complied. *

The case with the Earl of Huntly was very different. During the Regent's absence in England, he had, as authorized by the Scotish Queen, collected numerous forces in the northern parts of the kingdom, and had committed much havoc and devastation. It was therefore keenly disputed, whether he should receive an unconditional pardon, or whether, agreeably to a decision of the council, he should give satisfaction to those whom he had injured. It was at length agreed, that he should make indemnification for the destruction which he had occasioned; and that the fate of his followers should be decided by the manner in which each of them had acted. †

The Regent having now succeeded in dissolving the formidable combination which had threatened him with destruction, travelled through the north of Scotland, and having held courts of justice in Aberdeen, Elgin, and Inverness, he

* Buchanan, p. 378, 379. Spottiswoode, p. 229.

† Buchanan, p. 379, 380. Spottiswoode, p. 229, 230. MS. Hist. of James, p. 40. Camæleon, written by Buchanan against Maitland of Lethington, and printed at the end of the first volume of Buchanan's Works, Ruddiman's edition, p. 17. In this severe paper, Lethington is represented as having supported the milder proposition with the insidious view of strengthening opposition to the Regent's government, which is confirmed by the allegation in Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 125.

restored tranquillity to this distracted part of the kingdom; and took such securities from the Earl of Huntly as he trusted would prevent the breaking out of new troubles. * CHAP. I. 1569.

When he was returning from this expedition, he received, by Lord Boyd, who had been dispatched from the English court, communications from Elizabeth and Mary of much importance to Scotland; and he summoned a meeting of the nobles and chief men of the kingdom, that, assisted by their counsels, he might return an answer. † Convention at Perth. July.

The English Queen having professed to take the strongest interest in the situation of her unhappy prisoner, and to be desirous, upon her innocence being established, to interfere for her restoration, found it necessary, for vindicating her own sincerity, to use some means for terminating the differences between Mary and her subjects. For this purpose, she authorized Lord Boyd to submit to the Regent the following proposals:— "That Mary should be restored to her throne without any restrictions; or, that she should be associated with her son in the government, the administration of affairs remaining in the hands of the Earl of Murray till the King attained the

* Buchanan and Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

† Buchanan, p. 380. Spottiswoode, p. 230, 231. Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 111, 112, where there is a list of the persons who attended the meeting. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 12. The writer of this dates the embassy of Boyd in June, which is a mistake.

CHAP. I. 1569.

age of seventeen; or, if neither of these should be approved, that she should return into Scotland to live in a private station, but with such an allowance for her support and dignity as was suitable to the mother of the Sovereign." Boyd was also instructed to express Elizabeth's wish, that the marriage between Mary and Bothwell should be cancelled; and in this, that Princess, for reasons most interesting to herself, cordially joined, requesting, in her own letter sent by the same nobleman, that judges might be appointed, who, if they found the marriage unlawful, should pronounce a sentence of divorce, so that she might be at liberty to form another matrimonial alliance. *

The proposals of Elizabeth were deliberately considered. The first was rejected, as being inconsistent with the duty of the estates to their lawful sovereign, whom they had sworn to obey; the second was regarded as in every point of view replete with danger to the King, and to the liberties and religion of the people; the last it was agreed to adopt, under certain conditions, intended to prevent any attempt hostile to James, to the government, and to the Protestant church. †

* Buchanan and Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Instructions to Lord Boyd, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 107—109. Camden's Annals, p. 156. MS. Hist. of James the Sixth, p. 42. In this work, Boyd is represented as having been sent into Scotland by Mary; and only that part of his commission which was given by her is recorded. Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. III. p. 329.

† Buchanan, p. 381. Spottiswoode, p. 231. Calderwood's MS.

Much heat was occasioned by the discussions respecting the queen's divorce. The party attached to her were eager in procuring a compliance with her request; whilst the King's friends, affecting to be offended at her assuming the style of royalty, were aware of the purpose for which the request was so strenuously urged. *

Upon the dissolution of the convention, a messenger was sent to Elizabeth with an account of its decisions. With these she professed to be highly displeased. She remonstrated with Murray upon the part which he had acted, and he found it necessary, for removing her real or affected dissatisfaction, to call another convention at Stirling, which dispatched Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline, to defend the measures to which she had objected. In the able and interesting paper to which reference has been already made, the fullest instructions were given to him; and his representations, conjoined with the rebellion which broke out in the north of England, removed her displeasure, so that, upon his return, she conveyed assurances of her approbation. †

But Boyd was not the bearer only of public dis-

Hist. Vol. II. p. 126. Instructions to Robert Pitcairn, &c. dated Kelso, 15th Oct. 1569, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 113—130. This is a most interesting paper.

* Instructions to Pitcairn, as last quoted. Buchanan, ditto.

† Instructions to Pitcairn, in Crawford, as already quoted. Buchanan, p. 385. Spottiswoode, p. 251, 252. Grainger's continuation of Maitland's history of Scotland, p. 1097.

CHAP. I.

1569. Proposed marriage of Mary with the Duke of Norfolk.

patches. He brought letters to the Regent from his private friends in England, relating to a subject in which his honour and his peace were deeply interested, and which contributed to that alienation from some of his most steady adherents, which troubled the conclusion of his days. The Duke of Norfolk, who had been appointed as one of the commissioners for investigating the charges against the Scottish Queen, was the most powerful and the most accomplished of the English nobility. At the time of his appointment, he was, from the death of his third wife, a widower, and, either from love or from ambition, he seems soon to have formed the determination of soliciting an union with Mary. Lethington, with his usual ardour entered into the scheme, and, with his usual address, conducted the negotiations relating to it; and the Earl of Murray, to whom it had been communicated, approved of it, upon condition that his sister obtained a divorce, and that the marriage should be made subservient to the union of the two British kingdoms, and to the stability of the Protestant religion. Upon his return to Scotland, he adhered to this opinion, and the Duke of Norfolk wrote a confidential letter to him, which was sent by Lord Boyd, alluding to some correspondence between them, urging him "to remove all such stumbling-blocks as hindered their more apparent proceedings, and assuring him that by doing so, he would be instrumental in forming Britain into one state, and in maintaining

God's true religion."* Soon after this, however, he appears to have viewed the plan in a different light from that in which it had at first been presented to him, and to have communicated his dissatisfaction, either with the match itself, or with something connected with it; for in the month of August, the Duke again wrote to him, acknowledging that he had received his letter, by which he was sorry to undertstand that he did not follow the course which his friends wished him to do, and warning him that, if he persisted in this, he would lose their esteem and confidence.† CHAP. I. 1569. Aug. 14.

The whole of the scheme was long concealed from Elizabeth, whose jealousy of Mary inspired a suspicion that she would not approve of it; but it was known to many of her courtiers, and, with her usual sagacity, aided by the command of information, which she always had, she at length discovered that it was in agitation, and that Murray had been concerned in promoting it. She instantly instructed Lord Hunsdon to converse with the Regent upon the subject, who readily admitted that he had conditionally approved of it, but positively denied that the proposal had originated with him, or that he had taken any active part in carrying it into ex-

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 520, 521. The letter may be also seen in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 109, 110. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 114.

† Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 180.

CHAP. I.

1569.

ecution.* The moment he knew that Elizabeth was displeased with it, and that there was an intention of adhering to it, even in opposition to her wishes, he saw it to be alike his interest and his duty to the kingdom to withdraw his concurrence. Had he entered into the cabals of its misguided supporters, he would certainly have endangered that liberty and that reformation in religion, which it had been the great aim of his public life to secure to Scotland.†

* Letter of Lord Hunsdon to Secretary Cecil, dated from Berwick, 18th September 1569, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 523, 524. Much has been written upon the part which Murray acted, with regard to the marriage; and the writers who are attached to Mary, broadly charge him with having proposed the marriage, and, by betraying his private communications respecting it to Elizabeth, with having laid the foundation of Norfolk's ruin. Bishop Leslie's negociations, in Anderson's Collections, Vol. III. p. 36, 37, and p. 71, 72. This is very improbable, and appears to me to be inconsistent with the most authentic documents which have been preserved upon the subject. It is certain that Murray had given offence to Norfolk, before he had any correspondence with the English ministers about the match; and Hunsdon's letter renders it evident that Elizabeth had derived her information of the marriage from other sources. It is foreign to my purpose to enter into a discussion upon the subject; but this much I have thought it right to state, in vindication of Murray's honour.

† Robertson, Vol. I. p. 504, represents this part of the Regent's conduct in a very unfavourable point of view, charging him, from desire of avoiding Elizabeth's displeasure, with meanly betraying Norfolk. I think there was no treachery; but there seems little doubt that the part which he had taken, with respect to the marriage, perplexed Murray; that he had rashly given his consent to it, even although that consent was not absolute, and that, in extricating himself, he made high feelings of integrity in some degree bend to political expediency.

Maitland, however, was not on this account less eager in promoting the match than he had formerly been. He delighted in such negotiations as those in which he was in consequence of it engaged, and the Regent became apprehensive that he might embarrass his administration, or inadvertently involve him in difficulties from which it would not be easy to escape. He at length, therefore, judged it requisite to proceed against him; and Lethington, suspecting this, kept at a distance from court, living with the Earl of Atholl, who, he thought, had power to protect him. He was at length, however, induced, in company with the Earl, to attend a convention at Stirling, where he was accused of having been concerned in the murder of Darnly, and was committed to custody in the neighbourhood of the castle of Edinburgh. Kirkaldy of Grange who was long a firm friend of the Regent, and who had been made by him governor of this important fortress, probably thinking that Maitland had been harshly used, or unwilling that he should be sacrificed, succeeded in conveying him to the castle, and resolved not to surrender him. There is much darkness hanging over this part of the history of Scotland, and much contradiction in the accounts of it which have been transmitted. It seems not improbable that the Regent was misled with respect to Lethington, too hastily considering him at this time engaged in schemes inconsistent with his allegiance to the king; but the

1569. Sept. Lethington apprehended.

CHAP. I.

1569.

conduct of Kirkaldy admits of no excuse, for he had received many favours from the Earl of Murray, he was intrusted by him with the commission which he held, and he ought to have taken no step without his concurrence. * Some agitation of the public mind was occasioned by the apprehension of Maitland, and the queen's party resolved in great numbers to attend his trial, in hope of being furnished with some opportunity to promote their cause; but the Regent defeated their intentions by deferring the trial, in consequence of which it never took place. †

The Regent reduces the kingdom to tranquillity.

After he had secured himself against the intrigues of Maitland, the Regent determined effectually to reduce the power of his enemies, and for that purpose he travelled through the southern districts of Scotland. He received, during his progress, the most satisfactory testimonials of submission and affection, and had happily taken such precautions as warranted him to look forward to the enjoyment of that tranquillity to which he had hitherto been a

* Buchanan, Lib. xix. p. 383. Chamæleon, p. 17. Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 232. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 101. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 93. MS. Hist. of James the 6th, p. 44, 45. Mackenzie's Life of Sir William Maitland of Lethington, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 229, 230. Grainger's Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland. p. 1095, 1096. Robertson's Hist of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 505, 506 It is necessary to compare the different accounts, to discern what probably was the truth.

† Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 524, being a letter from Hunsdon to Cecil. Buchanan, Spottiswoode, and Robertson, as last quoted.

stranger, and to the accomplishment of the plans requisite for settling the church. But all his prospects were soon sadly and unexpectedly blasted. CHAP. I. 1570.

He had been frequently warned that his enemies, unable to oppose him in honourable warfare, had resolved upon his death; but he listened with too much incredulity to these cautions, and he fell a sacrifice to his neglect of them. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh followed him to Linlithgow, where he was to remain for a night, and next morning, when he was commencing his journey to Edinburgh, he was wounded by a bullet fired by Hamilton from the house of the Archbishop of St Andrews, in which he had concealed himself. The Regent, upon receiving the wound, dismounted and returned on foot to his lodgings. Hopes were entertained upon the first examination of the wound that it was not mortal, but the pain soon increasing, he prepared with unclouded serenity for his dissolution, and after expressing the most noble sentiments, and commending the protection of the king to those who upon this melancholy occasion, were listening to him, he expired.* He had received intimation on He is assassinated. Jan. 23.

* Buchanan, p. 385. Spottiswoode, p. 238. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 103. Bishop Leslie's Negociations, in Robertson's Collection, Vol. III. p. 84. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 149. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 47, 48. In this work there is a very particular and interesting account, confirmed by Calderwood, of the perseverance of Hamilton in accomplishing his object, an account sadly reminding the reader of the depravity to which our nature may be reduced, and of the dreadful effects of passion and revenge upon all

CHAP. I.

1570. January.

the preceding day, that there was a design to assassinate him,—even the house from which the deed was to be attempted was pointed out to him,—but, with wonderful disregard of his safety, he neither caused the house to be examined, nor took the other obvious precautions by which the villanous intention might have been defeated. He did indeed determine to leave Linlithgow by a different road from that which he had originally intended to take, but he unfortunately altered his resolution, trusting that, by riding quickly, he would avoid the danger. The crowd which pressed around him rendered rapidity of motion impossible, and the assassin was thus furnished with an opportunity of deliberately and surely taking his aim. *

There were circumstances attending this melancholy event which rendered it even more atrocious than it would otherwise have been. Hamilton had, in the course of the convulsions which agitated the kingdom, been deprived of his property; and the cruel treatment of his wife, to whom he was warmly attached, exasperating him against the Regent, led him to form the purpose, which he never abandoned, of gratifying his revenge. Yet he should have remembered that he owed his own life to the clemency of Murray. He had, after the

those amiable principles and dispositions, which it is our happiness, no less than our duty, assiduously to cultivate.

* See authors last quoted, particularly Buchanan and MS. Hist. of James.

battle of Langside, been taken prisoner, sentence of death had been pronounced against him, and he was just about to be executed, when the Regent remitted the punishment. This act of mercy he should have never forgotten. It was the act of Murray, and should have secured that illustrious nobleman from the vengeance of one who was indebted to him for the continuance of his existence.* CHAP. I. 1570. January.

From the conspicuous part which the Earl of Murray acted, during a period with respect to the transactions of which such opposite sentiments have been entertained, it is not astonishing that his character has been represented in very different lights, according to the feelings or the prejudices of the writers by whom it has been delineated. By some he has been exhibited as destitute of every excellence,—as guided by the most unprincipled ambition, and the most detestable hypocrisy; by others, less violent, his errors have been anxiously collected, and he has been blamed because he did not reach the perfection to which man cannot attain; while many have delighted to dwell on his numerous virtues, and have denied, or admitted with reluctance, that these virtues were ever shaded. Yet, amidst such discordant accounts, it is not difficult to approach the truth, both regarding him as a public character and as a private individual. His character.

* MS. Hist. of James, p. 28. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 99. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 49. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 511. Anderson's Collections, Vol. III. p. 81.

CHAP. I. 1570.

To him Scotland was eminently indebted for the most valuable civil and religious blessings. He early embraced the tenets of the reformers, and he steadily supported these tenets; he was animated by the noble desire of conjoining with a pure faith the inestimable advantages of a steady, yet merciful, government; and, amidst temptations which might have dazzled and seduced a weaker mind, he never lost sight of that revolution in the spiritual and political state of his countrymen which he happily effectuated That he was uniformly guided by these splendid or amiable motives, and that, amidst the troubles and calamities which distinguished the period in which he lived, he never yielded to personal feelings, or to the dictates of ambition, the history of some parts of his life plainly shews not to have been the case; but he never, even when he sunk patriotism in faction, betrayed the vital interests of Scotland;—he anxiously cherished and carefully strengthened them, and he had the singular felicity of contemplating the salutary effects which resulted from his exertions.

In private, he was pure and virtuous, guided by a scrupulous regard to the duties and the institutions of religion. His court exhibited none of those scenes of frivolity and of vice, by which public morals have been often contaminated. He permitted no levity of conversation, and no approach to profaneness or impiety. He regularly engaged in the exercises of devotion; and he delighted in studying scripture, and in attending to

the interpretations of it, which he heard from the learned men by whom he was surrounded. He had enjoyed, in early life, the advantage of a pious and a liberal education. He was an ardent promoter of learning; he was beneficent, manifesting the utmost tenderness for the feelings of those whom he aided or relieved. Warmly attached to his friends, he has been represented as too apt to be influenced by their counsels, whilst he was offended by the freedom of expostulation sometimes addressed to him; but these charges, from their nature, are vague, might have originated from momentary emotions of disgust in those by whom they have been recorded, and, although admitted to be true, they but feebly obscure the admirable qualities with which they were associated. His general manners, it is admitted, were courteous and insinuating; his person was strikingly handsome, and the expression of his countenance was open and benevolent. There can then be little hesitation in assigning to him a very distinguished place amongst the illustrious men who have appeared in Scotland, and in considering him as justly meriting the esteem and veneration of posterity; and although political antipathy even still labours to blacken his reputation, the general estimate of his character, formed from an impartial survey of his history, is perhaps in this work not too favourably exhibited. *

CHAP. I. 1570.

* Buchanan, p. 385, 386. Spottiswoode, p. 233, 234. Melvil's

CHAP. I.

1570. Remarks upon the mode of his death.

The manner in which he was slain ought never to be mentioned without the severest reprobation. If it were possible to cast out of view the enormous wickedness of assassination, still the evils which almost universally result from it, and with which, were it tolerated, it would always be attended, should make every wise and sincere patriot shrink from it with horror. In the present instance, its effects were most deplorable. Scotland, which had long been afflicted by foreign and intestine war and commotion, was just beginning to enjoy the tranquillity which would have conferred on it the most valuable blessings, when the fury of

Memoirs, p. 102, 103. MS. Hist. of James the VI. p. 48, 49. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 126, 127. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 324, 325. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 149, 150. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 528. This writer has, with much candour, stated the sentiments of the friends and of the enemies of the Regent. Grainger's Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1098, 1099. Rapin, in a note to Vol. II. p. 93, of his History of England, has collected various testimonies to the virtues of Murray; and he quotes the following passage from Thuanus, as shewing the high opinion which that historian entertained of his courage, justice, humanity and other good qualities. "Dum viveret, scisso factionibus regno, sinistris rumoribus ab æmulis laceratus, postquam mortuus est, veris laudibus, etiam ab inimicis laudatus, qui et præsentiam animi in periculis, felicitatem in præliis, in jure dicundo æquitatem, morum gravitatem cum liberalitate et humanitate summa conjunctam prædicabant." Life of Knox, prefixed to his History, p. 31. Since the above was written, the character of the Regent has been most favourably delineated, and ably defended by M'Crie, in his Life of Knox, p. 326—329, and note X X. Mr Chalmers, in his Caledonia, has branded Murray as a base born tyrant, to which Dr M'Crie makes an allusion, highly creditable to his own feelings.

an exasperated individual plunged it into new sorrows, and laid the foundation of misery and suffering, which multitudes in bitterness deplored. CHAP. I. 1570.

It has been conjectured and affirmed, that Hamilton was instigated by the party hostile to the Regent, which considered his death as essential for carrying into execution plans which his discernment and his vigour, they knew, would defeat. It is difficult, however, to assent to this opinion. We must suppose, that, if the assassination of Murray was the act of a party, they who composed that party, would have previously weighed all the consequences which might have been anticipated, and would have made some arrangements for securing that advantage to their cause, the hope of which had impelled them to a deed so shocking and atrocious. This, however, was not the case; they did not seem prepared to profit by the event; and the lamentation of Mary over the fate of her brother, upon whatever ground it was rested, plainly shews that she did not approve of his murder, or had not been consulted about its accomplishment. It may, however, be believed, that the inveteracy of the Hamilton family against the Regent, led them rather to rejoice in his death than to lament it; and they certainly so far protected the assassin, that by their means he escaped from the arm of justice, and took refuge in France. [1] He carried with him the

[1] Buchanan, Lib. xix. p. 384, 385. Spottiswoode, B. v. p. 230.

CHAP. I. 1570.

remorse, which, from the recollection of his guilt, blasted his happiness, and his misery was rendered exquisite by the light in which he was regarded by those who gave him protection. From what he had done, he was conceived by them to be capable of every enormity; and a proposal was made to him to assassinate the celebrated and amiable Coligny. The wretched man shrunk from it with indignation and horror; he deplored the fatal act which a deep sense of his own sufferings had led him to commit; and he in anguish declared, that no entreaty, or no reward, could move him again to become a murderer. *

Death of the Regent almost universally lamented.

The death of the Regent was lamented by almost the whole inhabitants of Scotland, and the feelings excited by his untimely fate were strengthened by reflection on the past, and by melancholy anticipation of the future. Wise men dreaded that the state would be torn by faction, that the safety of the Protestant religion would be endangered, and

Melvil's Memoirs, p. 103. Calderwood, Vol. II. p. 148, asserts, that the Hamiltons had signed a bond for cutting off the Regent, which appears highly improbable. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 47. In this work the act of Hamilton is represented as originating from revenge of the injuries which had been done to himself. Grainger's continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 1097. Bishop Leslie's negociations in Anderson's Collection, Vol. III. p. 187. The subject will again be introduced in giving the history of Archbishop Hamilton's death.

* The fact stated in the text is mentioned by Thuanus in his History of France, and from him it has been quoted by Spottiswoode, p. 223, by Camden in his Annals, p. 472, and by other writers.

CHAP. I. 1570.

that contending parties would, in their misguided zeal, sacrifice the best interests, if not the independence of their country. Knox discerned, in all their magnitude, the calamities which hung over the nation. Warmly attached to Murray, venerating his virtues,—convinced that to him the Protestants were indebted for the establishment of their faith, and the people for the security and tranquillity which they enjoyed, he was persuaded that the fair prospect upon which he had delighted to dwell was overcast; that little reliance could be placed upon the steadiness even of those who had been zealous in the cause of the Congregation, and that, let loose from the control which had restrained their passions, they would lose, in anxiety for personal exaltation, all regard for the important objects which they had once laboured to obtain. Far from imitating many of the nobles, who conceived that, by the death of Murray, new pursuits of ambition were set before them, he felt that keen anguish which evinced the sincerity of his patriotism, and he openly declared, that the assassination of the Regent should be bewailed by all good men, as a national calamity. * The ministers, justly persuaded that they had been deprived of their best friend,

* Buchanan, p. 385. Spottiswoode, p. 233, 234. Life of Knox prefixed to his History, p. 33. Calderwood's MS. Vol II. p. 150, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 46. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 11. Wodrow's Life of Knox, Vol. I. folio of his MSS. p. 184, 185.

CHAP. I. 1570.

early expressed their abhorrence of the murder, and pronounced the person who had been guilty of it unworthy to be received into the communion of the church. *

State of the Reformation in Scotland at the death of the Regent.

During the administration of the Regent, friendly as he was to the Protestant religion, few steps had been taken to complete the fabric of the new ecclesiastical constitution. Many arrangements which were necessary, not only for fixing the livings of the ministers, but for marking the boundaries between civil and spiritual jurisdiction, he was prevented from devising or carrying into execution; and although the reformed faith had been declared to be that of the state, yet the manner in which it was to be inculcated, the form of church-government, and the support to be given to it by the crown, were left, in a great degree, open for future discussion, rendering it probable that some changes in all these respects would yet be introduced.

This unsettled condition of the church was attended with many inconveniences to the clergy. Their stipends were not regularly paid; constant disputes arose between them and the persons who, under the former ecclesiastical establishment, had been inducted into benefices; the funds for paying the ministers were not with sufficient preci-

* Spottiswoode, p. 235. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 522. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. v. p. 203, 204.

sion defined; and it was not determined, whether, like the higher orders of the Popish clergy, they were to be recognized as one of the estates of the kingdom But this situation of their affairs, with all the disadvantages which attended it, was perhaps, upon the whole, most favourable to the existence of that spirit of freedom, and of that manly independence, which had, from the first struggles of the Congregation, guided the conduct of the reformers in Scotland. Had their interest, immediately after their faith was espoused by the nation, been fully identified with the government,—had ample revenues been alloted to their teachers,—and had the state been pledged to defend their possessions and their privileges, it might have happened, that the natural love of security and of influence would have extinguished patriotism, and disposed many of them invariably to support the schemes and the measures of the sovereign, or of those who exercised his authority. Hence would have resulted that wild and absurd principle of passive obedience, and that capricious and tyrannical determination to regulate, by one standard, the belief of all the members of the community, which, even at the period of Murray's death, had begun to be avowed in England,—which laid the foundation, in that kingdom, for the sufferings of many conscientious and enlightened Protestants,—and which would have terminated in political and spiritual despotism, had not those convulsions taken place which were

CHAP. I.

attended with so many shocking events, upon which it is painful to dwell.

1570. But the Scotish reformers saw the necessity of preserving that popular esteem and reverence to which they had been in the greatest degree indebted in the important contest which had so recently terminated. They had still much to acquire. They knew, upon the authority of the Regent, and from what they themselves daily experienced, that there was, in the higher classes of society, an anxious wish to keep them in poverty and subjection, and that nothing but their influence over the public mind could secure the victory which they had happily obtained. Although, therefore, they most strenuously supported the government of the Earl of Murray, and shewed, in their mode of doing so, a striking contrast to the general tenor of their conduct during the reign of Mary, they cherished, in all its strength, that jealousy of the supreme power, which rendered them vigilant in observing its determinations with regard to them, and unremitted in inculcating the great truth, that the end of all government is the good of the people. The love of liberty, and the determination to be guided by it, were thus far from being weakened by what had already been conceded to the reformed church in Scotland; and attention to this must be paid in order to understand the nature and the object of many of those negociations and changes, which, in the course of this history, will be recorded.

CHAPTER SECOND.

State of Parties in Scotland after the Death of the Regent....All of them profess zeal for the Protestant Religion....Conduct of Elizabeth....Of the King of France ....Obstacles to the Election of a Regent....Meeting of the Estates....The Earl of Lennox chosen Regent.... Ecclesiastical proceedings as affecting the State and the Church....Measures of the Regent to preserve tranquillity....An abstinence....Decided Conduct of Knox.... Negociations respecting Mary....Regent gets possession of Dunbarton Castle....Archbishop of St Andrews Condemned and Executed....Remarks upon his Execution.... His Character....New Commotions..., Knox leaves Edinburgh....The Regent holds a Parliament....Interference of the Church....Of Elizabeth....Queen's lords hold a Parliament....Unceasing Skirmishes ...Kircaldy's Conduct reprobated...Elizabeth again interferes....Parliament at Stirling....Death of the Regent....His Character....Remarks on the Enterprize which terminated in his Death.

CHAP. II.

1570. State of parties in Scotland after the death of the Regent.

No event could have happened more calamitous to Scotland than the death of the Earl of Murray. His firm and steady administration, supported by Elizabeth, had, after encountering many difficulties, restored tranquillity to his country, and, although there remained many of the higher ranks hostile to his government, they were daily becoming more sensible of their weakness, and would probably soon have united in healing dissension, and in pro-

CHAP. II. 1570.

moting that national happiness which had been so long interrupted. His assassination, as had been apprehended, gave fresh energy to the intrigues of faction, and, renewing the inveteracy of party rage, prepared new misfortunes, and threatened the loss of the independence, which, amidst all the troubles of the Reformation, had been fortunately and wonderfully preserved. *

The adherents of the Queen lost no time in evincing how much they felt themselves strengthened, and in disclosing the principles to which they were attached. Eager to restore Mary to her throne, and fully convinced that this great object of their wishes would be defeated by the insidious policy of the English queen, they determined, by unwarrantable and unprovoked acts of aggression, to excite her indignation, and to induce her to declare war against Scotland, trusting that the approach of hostilities, which might terminate in the subjugation and ruin of the country, would unite all parties, would destroy the influence of England, and would afford an opening for that vigorous co-operation of foreign powers which they expected, and which, from the events of late years, they knew was much dreaded by Elizabeth. They accordingly instructed some of their friends to make an incursion into her dominions, and to spread devastation through the bordering counties. †

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 187.
Buchanan, p. 386. Spottiswoode, p. 231, compared with the

The Castle of Edinburgh had been entrusted to Kircaldy of Grange, who, at the period of his receiving this important charge, was firmly united with the Earl of Murray, and was held in the highest estimation by the Protestants; but who, from ambition, or supposed neglect, had, previous to the Regent's death, been alienated from him, and had resigned himself to the direction of the intriguing and versatile Lethington. He still, however, professed to be loyal to the youthful monarch, but he affected a degree of impartiality, which, in times of civil commotion, seldom really exists, though pretensions to it are too frequently employed to pave the way for secession from the cause which had once been strenuously supported. He released Maitland from his confinement in the castle, and that able man having made the most solemn professions of his innocence with respect to the murder of Darnly, and pledged his honour to answer any accusation which might be brought against him, was left at liberty to employ his talents in the advancement of those schemes which he secretly wished to see carried into execution. In common with Kircaldy he declared his attachment to the government of James, but he was in fact desirous to restore Mary, and he united with the governor of the

CHAP. II. 1570.

MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 50, and Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 129, 130. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1099. Camden's Annals, p. 173. Rapin's Hist. of England, folio edition, printed at London, 1733, Vol. II. p. 93, 94.

CHAP. II.

castle in forming a new party, which added to the misery of Scotland. *

1570. The friends of the Regent and the truly zealous subjects of James, guided by the Earl of Morton, and possessing the veneration and the affections of the people, resolved to adhere to the policy of their former lamented leader,—to cultivate a good understanding with Elizabeth,—to extinguish the faction which laboured for the restoration of Mary,—and to prevent any of the continental powers from interfering with the affairs of the kingdom.

All of them profess zeal for the Protestant religion.

All these parties endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their countrymen, to impress them with the conviction that they were actuated by the purest patriotism, and had the most sincere desire to preserve the blessings of peace; and, sensible that any attempt to undermine the Protestant faith would fill with abhorrence the great majority of the people, they professed, in their proclamations, to regard it with reverence, and to consider it as the first duty to provide for its stability. The Queen's faction, directed as it was by the Archbishop of St Andrews, who had given the most unequivocal and melancholy proofs of his zeal for the ancient church,

* Buchanan as last quoted. Spottiswoode, p. 235. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 104 and 109. This writer was exceedingly partial to Grange, and has anxiously endeavoured to vindicate his conduct. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 1 and 4. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 51, 52. In this work there is a full account of the manner in which Lethington was declared innocent.

seemed to be even more explicit than the other factions, in stating its designs respecting religion. They who composed it took an early opportunity of issuing a proclamation, in which, not contented with publishing "their good affection towards the maintenance of religion, their sovereign, the liberty of the country, and the settling the present divisions, they solemnly affirmed, that, so far from having in view the subversion of religion, as professed by the Protestants, they had been the most ardent promoters of it, and would hazard their property and their lives in its defence." Nor was this language confined to their public manifestoes. In the private letters which they addressed to those whom they hoped to attach to their cause, they were equally decided. They gave the most positive assurances "that they had met for the maintenance of the glory of God, and the propagation of his gospel, sincerely preached within this realm." *

This fact fully establishes the prevalence of the tenets introduced by the reformers; and shews, in the most striking light, how assiduously they had laboured, and with what astonishing success they had, in the space of a few years, given a new di-

* Spottiswoode, p. 236, 237. Circular Letter addressed by the leaders of the Queen's party to their friends, dated 15th April 1570. With a copy of this letter I was accidentally favoured. It is amongst the papers belonging to the Perth family, a list of which I have seen, and I have little doubt, that, from a careful inspection of them, some light might be thrown upon part of the history of Scotland.

CHAP. II.

rection to the principles and sentiments of those whom they instructed.

1570. Conduct of Elizabeth.

It could not be imagined, interested as Elizabeth constantly had been in the situation of Scotland, and adopting it as one of the leading objects of her policy, to secure herself from the danger with which from that quarter she might be threatened, that she would regard with indifference the events to which her attention was now solicited. She had indeed, even before the death of Murray, been filled with the utmost anxiety, from the asylum given by the friends of Mary to the chief promoters of the rebellion which, about that time, had been raised in the north of England; and she would, upon this account alone, have esteemed it prudent, that they who had offended her should not obtain the ascendancy. But the invasion of her kingdom, which has been already mentioned, called upon her to disclose her intentions, and to make the most effectual efforts for perpetuating her own influence, and countenancing such as were eager for its continuance. She accordingly immediately dispatched Randolph, deeply experienced in Scotish affairs, and admirably qualified for accomplishing any secret schemes which she was desirous to promote. She instructed him to remonstrate against the unprincipled invasion of her country; to declare, with affected candour and generosity, that she looked upon this outrage as the work of a party which she would not avenge

by making war upon the whole kingdom; to insist, however, upon the punishment of the offenders, and to offer the aid of her own forces, if that should be requisite, for bringing them to justice. He was also enjoined to enlarge upon her earnestness for the preservation of the Protestant faith; to urge upon the council the obligation to protect it from every attempt of its enemies; and to conclude by representing the necessity of harmony and peace, for the happiness, and even the existence of the nation.* CHAP. II. 1570.

The advice which she thus charged her ambassador to give was worthy of a great and magnanimous sovereign. Its effects would have been, in the highest degree, beneficial; but she was not sincere; she was using the dissimulation with which she had so often acted, following the ungenerous and cruel policy of securing herself against the enmity of her northern neighbours, by fomenting their divisions, and aggravating their calamities. There cannot remain a doubt, that Randolph was enjoined privately to cherish the flame of discord,—to prevent the cordial union of the different parties,—and while he apparently supported those who surrounded the throne of James, to encourage their enemies, and particularly to confirm in Grange the reluctance which he felt to

* Buchanan, Lib. xx. p. 386, 387. Spottiswoode, p. 234. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 50. Camden's Annals, p. 173.

CHAP. II.

act in concert with those whom he had once esteemed. *

1570. Conduct of the French King.

The intelligence of the Regent's death was immediately carried to France, and produced in that kingdom a temporary determination to retrieve that sway in Scotland, which had been lost in consequence of the success of the Congregation. The French king communicated this determination to the family of Hamilton, dispatching Virac, one of his attendants, to express his gratitude to those lords who had not abandoned their true sovereign, and to assure them that he would send such assistance as would render their efforts in her favour successful. †

From the view which has been given of the state of parties, and of the intention of foreign powers, it will be readily perceived how dismal was the prospect opening to the inhabitants of Scotland; and indeed, even before the horrors of civil war burst upon them, they experienced the misery almost uniformly resulting from a feeble and wavering administration. ‡

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 107—109. The evidence of Melvil is unquestionable. He was upon the spot, and had every advantage for detecting the insidious conduct of Randolph. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 131. MS. Hist. of James, p. 50. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 94.

† Buchanan, p. 388. Spottiswoode, p. 236. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 54. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 94. Thuanus represents this man as having been sent by the family of Guise, and not by the French king; but the Scotish writers could scarcely be mistaken.

‡ MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 55. The author thus strikingly

1570. Obstacles to the election of a Regent. Feb. 12.

The Earl of Morton, and the Lords who defended James, soon after the murder of the Regent, wrote to the leaders of all parties to assemble at Edinburgh, for electing a successor to Murray, and taking the measures requisite for preserving tranquillity. The Hamiltons, and those who favoured the Queen, were eager to delay the election, that they might have time to collect their adherents; and they replied, that, although they were willing to join in punishing the assassin of the Regent, they could not meet so early as Morton had mentioned; and they warned him, that if the lords who might assemble should come to any decision, they would esteem them as violating their duty to their country, and would consider themselves as justified in having recourse to hostilities. *

This plain avowal of enmity made no impression

describes the situation of his country. "The haill realm of Scotland was so divided into factions, that it was hard for an peaceable man as he rode out the highway, to profess himself openly to be a favourer to either King or Queen; all the people were casten so loose, and were become of such disolute mindes and actions, that none was in account but he that would kill or rive his nixt brother. All good policy and law, justice and equity, was buried; as it becomes of all commonwealths for the mo t part, yea private families, that when either of them are destitute of their laws, or ordinary head, or governour, ilk privat person rules as he list, or may performe for his own preferment and commodity, without regard to right or reason."

* Buchanan, p. 387, and Spottiswoode, p. 285, compared with Crawford's Memoirs, p. 131, 132.; MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 50 and 51; and Grainger's continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1103.

CHAP. II. upon Morton and his adherents, and they met upon the day which had been appointed. Maitland, however, who had again ingratiated himself with them, and who, before the dissolution of the convention, procured from those who attended it an ample declaration of his innocence, and a strong testimony to the value of his former services, succeeded in persuading them that, before taking any decisive step, it was desirable that the chief men of all factions should meet at Edinburgh; urging, that, unless this took place, there could be little hope of preventing commotions, and promising to use his endeavours to prevail with the Queen's lords to acquiesce in the resolution which he suggested. To these lords he represented that they had no reason to decline coming to Edinburgh,—that their forces were sufficiently numerous to protect them,—and that Kircaldy, the governor of the castle, who had now entered into their views, would give them, were it requisite, his effectual support. This representation produced the effect which Lethington anticipated, for the persons to whom it was addressed came to the metropolis about the middle of March; and although the Earl of Argyll, whose influence with them was very great, returned from Linlithgow without joining them, they proceeded, with Morton and the King's friends, to discuss the interesting questions which were proposed for decision. Various opinions were stated. Some thought that, as the Queen, in the deed of resigna-

1570.

March.

tion, had nominated different persons to hold the regency in the event of her brother declining to accept of it, they were invested with full power to choose any of that number as his successor; others dwelling upon the dreadful consequences which were to be apprehended from delay, maintained that the noblemen who had assisted at the coronation of James, and had remained faithful to him, might name, as Regent, any person whom they esteemed worthy of such an important trust; but the majority, anxious to avoid all cause of discord, resolved to defer farther proceedings till the assembling of the estates, which had been appointed to take place in May.* 1570.

Whatever motives had influenced Argyll not to attend the convention, he came to Linlithgow in a short time after it was dissolved, and concurred with the Queen's friends, who had retired to that town, in taking decisive steps for promoting their designs. They had not abandoned their resolution of involving the country in a war with England,—a measure which they trusted would withdraw attention from the murder of the Regent, which they had no wish to investigate. They determined to transfer their meeting to Edinburgh, where they thought that they could more exten-

* Buchanan, p. 387, 388. Spottiswoode, p. 235, 236. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 158. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1100, compared with MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 51 ,4. Crawford of Drumsey's Memoirs, p. 131—135.

CHAP. II. 1570.

sively influence those in whose co-operation they trusted, and could profit by the assistance of the governor of the castle; and having applied for permission, it was granted by the magistrates, who stipulated, however, that entrance should not be given to those who were suspected of being accessory to the assassination of the Regent, to the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, who having fled into Scotland, upon the failure of their ill-concerted rebellion in the north of England, had been welcomed by the adherents of Mary, or to any who refused to acknowledge the King. *

These conditions might have satisfied them respecting the real sentiments of the inhabitants of Edinburgh; but, reluctant as they must have been to accede to them, they were induced to do so from their eagerness to get possession of the capital. Upon their arrival, they summoned those in whom they confided, to meet for considering the state of the nation, and they published the laboured proclamation, to which allusion has been already made, evidently framed with the design of removing the suspicions which were generally entertained with respect to their intentions, and of gaining the confidence of the people. In this address to their countrymen, they avowed the most fervent attach-

* Buchanan, p. 389. Spottiswoode, p. 236. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 2. Letter amongst Perth papers already already quoted. MS. Hist. of James VI. The author of this work takes notice only of the condition respecting the English lords.

ment to the Protestant faith, and their readiness to unite with those of different sentiments in any measures which should appear best calculated to advance the honour of God, strengthen the royal succession, provide for the safety of the young Prince, maintain peace with foreign nations, and preserve harmony amongst the nobility and other subjects of the realm. * The Earl of Atholl exerted himself to prevail upon the King's party to meet with these lords, and when this failed, a negotiation was, at the suggestion of Maitland, opened with Morton, the head of the party; but as he insisted upon the recognition of James as the basis of all treaty, Argyll, and the lords who acted with him, attempted to get the absolute command of Edinburgh, and began to collect forces for deciding by arms the fate of the kingdom. †

CHAP. II. 1570.

Their schemes were, for some time, defeated, by intelligence that an English army, commanded by the Earl of Sussex, had reached Berwick. When Randolph proposed to the Scotish council, soon after the death of the Regent, that his sovereign would assist in punishing those who had invaded her dominions, he was informed, that any determination upon a point so important, must be deferred till the estates had convened. But Eli-

* Spottiswoode, p. 236, 237. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 176, —179.

† Buchanan, p. 389. Spottiswoode, p. 237. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 10.

CHAP. II. 1570. zabeth did not judge it prudent to lose so much time in promoting her designs, and she gave immediate orders to Sussex to march towards the borders, sending with him the Earl of Lennox, in whom she confided, and whom, even at this period, she probably destined to be the Regent of Scotland. * To prevent, however, the alarm which so vigorous a measure might excite, she issued a proclamation, declaring her friendship to the Scotish nation, appealing, in proof of this, to her past conduct, and assuring the people, that her sole object was to punish the outrages which, at the instigation of her own traitorous subjects, had been committed; and to get into her possession those rebels who had endeavoured to interrupt the peace of her dominions, and to wrest from her the crown. †

10th April.

The lords who espoused the cause of Mary, dreaded that the army of which they had heard was intended to act against them; and, imagining

* MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 57. Camden's Annals, p. 173. Melvil, in his Memoirs, p. 104, says, that the Earl of Lennox had been sent for by the lords of the King's faction, to be made Regent in place of the Earl of Murray. It is exceedingly probable that this was the case, and that the invitation was acceptable to Elizabeth.

† Bannatyne's Journal, p. 4—9. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 181—183. Strype's Annals of the Reformation under Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 613—615. This manifesto was entitled "A declaration of the just, honourable, and necessary causes that moves the Queen's Majesty to levy and send an army to the borders of Scotland; with the assurance of her intention to continue the peace with the crown, and the quiet subjects of the said realm of Scotland."

that they would be safer if they left Edinburgh, they went to Linlithgow, having, however, to guard against the suspicion of being influenced by fear, or doubt of their success, prevailed upon the inhabitants to request that they would depart, lest an attack should else be made upon the city by the English general.* They then dispatched a messenger to Berwick, to ascertain what were the views of Sussex; and Sir James Melvil, who, from his partiality to Kircaldy, and his desire to unite all parties, undertook the commission, was persuaded that Elizabeth had instructed that nobleman, agreeably to her former orders to Randolph, to irritate the contending factions, that, by weakening both, they might be rendered completely dependent upon England. † 1570.

The Earl of Sussex immediately began to act in conformity to the letter of his instructions. In the course of the month, he laid waste the domains of the leaders of the late incursion into England, whilst Lord Scroop, spreading his forces along the western borders, committed the most harassing and useless depredations. ‡

Upon the departure of the Queen's party, the adherents of James entered Edinburgh, and, at May. Meeting of the estates.

* Spottiswoode, p. 237.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 105. "He was sent (writes Sir James) to set forward the Earl of Lennox,—and yet to encourage the lords of the Queen's faction to hold forwards their factious course."

‡ Buchanan, p. 390, 391. Spottiswoode, p. 237. MS. Hist. of James, p. 59. Stowe's Annals, p. 669. Camden's Annals, p. 173.

CHAP. II. 1570. the time which they had appointed, held a convention of the estates. That they might not appear unwilling to have any communication with the opposite faction, they declared, that if those who formed it would concur in avenging the death of the Regent, and would acknowledge the Prince as their sovereign, every reasonable demand which they might make would be conceded. This brought fairly to issue the point about which they were contending; and the Queen's lords indignantly answered, that they knew no sovereign but Mary; and that, as she had committed the government of the kingdom to the Duke of Chatelherault, and to the Earls of Hurtly and Argyll, they would yield obedience to them as her representatives. In the meantime, they, in her name, and by her authority, summoned a parliament to meet in August. * All hope of union being now at an end, the estates emitted a violent proclamation, adverting upon the conduct of their opponents, accusing them of hypocrisy in their professions of attachment to the established religion, charging them with being accessory to the murder of Darnly, and the assassination of Murray, and prohibiting all from giving them assistance, under pain of death. †

In the exasperated state of mens' minds, expos-

* Buchanan, p. 390. Spottiswoode, p. 238. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 14. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 60.

† Spottiswoode, p. 238, 239.

tulation and argument could produce no effect; the passions of each party were inflamed, and all, stifling the dictates of enlightened patriotism, were bent upon establishing by the sword, the claims which they would not renounce. The convention, aware of this, did not esteem it safe to elect a regent without informing Elizabeth, to whom, in this distressing emergency, Morton looked for support; and Pitcairn, abbot of Dunfermline, a man of considerable political talents and address, was sent to London to consult with her respecting the best measures for securing the throne of James, and strengthening the friendly connection between the two British nations. Sensible that the hopes of the opposite faction were cherished by the delay which had taken place in deciding upon the fate of Mary, Pitcairn was enjoined to urge that Elizabeth would announce what were her intentions with respect to that princess, and then to represent the difficulties which had occurred in the election of a Regent, praying for her advice and direction. He was also commanded to solicit money for maintaining a considerable army, and to assure her, that the rebels should be safely kept; but, at the same time, generously to stipulate, that if they were to be delivered, they might experience as much lenity as was consistent with the security of her throne. She listened with pretended astonish-

CHAP. II. 1570.

CHAP. II. 1570.

ment to the statement and request of the Scotish ambassador, and coolly replied, that, having been solicited by foreign princes, she was anew to hear the cause between Mary and her subjects; that she therefore wished the lords by whom he was sent to abstain from all hostilities, and not to be precipitate in electing a Regent.* This answer filled the partisans of James with despondency and alarm. Fully aware that, in the troubled state of the kingdom, they could not act in opposition to the will of Elizabeth, and, at the same time, deploring the calamities attending the continuation of that feeble system, which could be done away only by choosing a successor to Murray, they deliberated, with the utmost uneasiness, upon what was to be done; and they at length resolved, that, while they deferred the election of a Regent till the middle of July, when the estates were summoned to assemble, they should immediately nominate the Earl of Lennox, the grandfather of the King, to be lieutenant of Scotland, and write the most pressing letters to Elizabeth, beseeching her to comply with the proposals

* Buchanan, p. 390—392. Spottiswoode, p. 240. Camden's Annals, p. 174, 175. Melvil, in his Memoirs, p. 106, 107, gives a different account of the objects of Pitcairn's embassy; but, from his connection with Kircaldy and the Queen's lords, he had not the means of accurate information; and he alludes to this when he says, "His chief commission, so far as I could afterwards inform myself," &c. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 94.

which had been submitted to her by the abbot of Dunfermline. *

1570.

She was at length convinced that it was necessary for the King's party that the executive power should be vested in the hands of some person able to direct it; and, provoked at the Queen's faction, which, after giving her reason to believe that the English rebels would be delivered, had permitted one of them, the Earl of Westmoreland, to escape into Flanders, her motives for temporising with it were destroyed, and she conceived it highly expedient to remove all doubt about the policy which she was to adopt. Through the Earl of Sussex, she wrote a reply to the solicitations of the King's friends, which was highly satisfactory, and which plainly evinced, that, whatever steps she might take with respect to Mary, she had no intention that James should descend from his throne. She expressed her satisfaction at the deference which the lords had shewn to her opinion,—alluded to her former sentiments,—but declared, that, considering the disorders which must arise, if there was no Regent, she approved of their resolution. Affecting the utmost disinterestedness, she professed that she had no wish to dictate in a matter which they could so well determine; but that she had no hesitation in stat-

* Buchanan and Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 22, 23. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 145, 146.

CHAP. II. 1570.

ing her conviction, that the Earl of Lennox, the near relation of their sovereign, and whom they had already constituted lieutenant of the kingdom, was in all respects the fittest person for supplying the vacancy. To prevent any uneasiness which the misrepresentations of their enemies might occasion, she assured them that she did not intend to alter the constitution of the government, unless some very powerful reason compelled her to reinstate the Queen. *

Election of the Regent. 12th July.

This letter, followed by a long discourse from Randolph, enlarging upon its contents, removed all hesitation, and the Earl of Lennox, with the hearty concurrence of the estates, was appointed Regent during the King's minority. The appointment was immediately announced, and the Regent having sworn that he would support the Protestant faith, and rule in conformity to the laws, entered upon the duties of his exalted but perilous situation.† The slightest view of the state of Scotland must have convinced him that he was undertaking an arduous task. Sir James Melvil, who had been in-

* Buchanan, p. 392. Spottiswoode, p. 241. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 29—28, where the letter of Elizabeth is at full length inserted. Camden's Annals, p. 175. Aikman's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 205. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 410—419.

† See writers last quoted. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 191. History of the Church of Scotland, p. 16. He mentions that the election took place on the 15th of July, but the Parliament met on the 12th, and it is not probable that there was any delay. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 62.

timately acquainted with him when he was recalled by Mary, and who dreaded the obstacles which he would have to encounter, considered it to be the duty of a friend to dissuade him from accepting the honour which was destined for him; communicating the rooted antipathy which existed between the parties, and not concealing from him that his life would be in danger. Age, however, had not extinguished that ambition which is so natural to the human heart, and which the recollection of his early life, and of the events which since had befallen him, tended to cherish; for he disregarded the counsel which sincere affection probably had dictated. *

1570. July.

Ecclesiastical proceedings, as affecting the State and the Church.

During the painful suspence in which the inhabitants of Scotland were kept from the death of the Earl of Murray till the election of his successor, it could not be supposed that the ministers, the guardians of the Reformation, and tenderly concerned for the welfare of the people, would remain uninterested spectators, or fail to discern how much the existence of the Protestant church depended upon the issue of dissensions so fatal to the tranquillity of the kingdom, and so disgraceful to the most illustrious of its inhabitants. They were led by every principle which they venerated, to uphold the throne of James, and to unite with the party combined to prevent the restoration of a princess, whose religion and

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 106.

66915

CHAP. II. 1570. whose policy they had, in her happier days, contemplated with alarm or with abhorrence. They exerted all their influence to strengthen the government, to conciliate the factions, and to induce the whole of the nobility to concur in the choice of a Regent. As private individuals, they laboured in the work of peace, so suitable to their office and their character, the superintendent of Lothian and another clergyman conducting the negotiation between the Earl of Morton and the adherents of the 5th July. Queen; and in a meeeting of the General Assembly which took place a few days before that of the estates, they appointed the most respectable of their number, who had powerfully contributed to the diffusion of religious instruction, and who had been held in the highest estimation by such of the Queen's lords as had been active in the cause of the congregation, to employ every proper method to persuade these lords not to oppose their lawful monarch, and even to threaten them with the highest ecclesiastical censures, if they persisted in what the Assembly stigmatized as rebellion.*

The distracted state of the kingdom was not favourable for any important alteration with regard to the church; and although the grievances of which the ministers complained were constantly kept in view, the attention of the General Assemblies of

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 115. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 191—197. Spottiswoode's History, p. 242.

1570. July.

the present year was chiefly occupied in making such regulations as tended to give efficacy to the ministry, and to regulate the morals of the community. With the view of preventing a practice which had begun to prevail, of men invested with the clerical office devoting their time to secular pursuits, it was ordained that no minister should desert the ministry for offices in the commonwealth, without the consent of the church; and in the Assembly held in July, it was appointed that, at the inauguration of ministers, they should solemnly protest that they would at no future period leave their vocation, under pain of infamy. These regulations proceeded from that laudable jealousy which the church of Scotland has constantly shewn, as to the discharge of the duties of the clergy, and which has given origin to those laws that have prevented the strange abuse of undertaking the spiritual cares implied in holding a benefice, whilst they who do so never visit it, or visit it so seldom, as to render the communication of instruction, and the existence of that kindly intercourse between a pastor and his congregation, from which numberless advantages are derived, almost impossible.

It is unnecessary to detail the cases of casuistry which, from the manners of the times, and the recent escape from the darkness and the pollution of superstition, it was thought essential, with a minuteness little consonant to modern sentiments of delicacy or expediency, to discuss and decide; or to mention

CHAP. II. 1570.

the rules which were laid down for conducting the business of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory; but there were two decisions of the Assembly held in July, which, from throwing light upon the state of religious and political opinion at the period of their being pronounced, it may be not uninteresting to record. During the struggle which so long subsisted between the sovereign and the reformers, it is impossible not to have been struck with the bold language and the aspiring pretensions of those who contended for spiritual freedom. All idea of separating between the civil and ecclesiastical power was cast out of sight, or reprobated as betraying the interests of divine truth; and the Assemblies of the church entered with the utmost keenness, and the most unbounded license, upon the consideration of the political questions which interested the feelings, or agitated the passions of the community. This practice was attempted to be justified by the peculiar and hazardous situation of the reformed faith; and they accordingly seem to have departed from it when the apprehension of persecution or extermination was happily destroyed. A striking example of this change of sentiment, so necessary for the peace of a country, and for preserving reverence for religion, at this time occurred. A dispute had arisen between Hamilton, one of the ministers of St Andrews, and Carmichael, who was a teacher in the grammar-school of that city. The nature of the dispute has not been

recorded, but there can be little doubt that it implicated the great political question which then divided the sentiments of the people. It rose, as might be expected, to such a height, that it was brought under the consideration of the Assembly, which decided, that, as it related to doctrine and to the discipline of the church, it should by them be weighed and determined. In a few days, however, a deputation of official men, acting by authority of the chancellor, represented, that, in the controversy at St Andrews, there were points bordering on treason, and tending to strike at the king's authority, on which account they required of the Assembly to suspend all decision of what related to his majesty, till the convention of the nobility, but leaving it to proceed as to every thing falling within its peculiar jurisdiction. To this the Assembly unanimously agreed, shewing, that the reformers were at this time guided by a spirit of moderation, which, had it been prudently and judiciously managed, might have prevented many of those dissensions, which, in a succeeding age, indeed within a few years, so violently agitated both the church and the state. CHAP. II. 1570.

It being at length fixed that a Regent was to be elected, the Assembly, previous to its dissolution, considering that it would be proper now to defend its privileges, authorized its most eminent members, in name of the whole Church of Scotland, to attend the convention of nobles which was soon to

CHAP. II. 1570.

take place, and to propose articles, supplications, and complaints, such as had been delivered, or might still be delivered to them; to request an answer, and such redress of their grievances as might appear agreeable to equity and justice. This the convention would of course expect; but the ministers embraced the opportunity of evincing their attachment to the government of James, and their anxiety that it should be preserved; for they also instructed their representatives to consent to whatever might be resolved by the estates tending to promote the glory of God, the preaching and maintaining of true religion, the security of the King's authority, and the good of the commonwealth. *

This unanimous resolution clearly pointed out the course with respect to government which they had determined to follow. While they were firm in asserting their own rights, they were no less so in avowing their reverence for a Protestant sovereign, as the natural guardian of those rights, and of that liberty for which they had strenuously contended. There was thus no change in their ardour for freedom; for while they supported the throne, they did so from its connection with the commonwealth, and from their conviction that the happiness of

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 110—117. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol II. p. 160—171, and p. 191—197. History of the Church of Scotland, p. 45—47. Spottiswoode, p. 241, 242. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 523.

the people would be in this manner most effectually secured. When such sentiments were entertained and inculcated by the clergy, who still retained that influence over their countrymen, which, during their contests with the Queen Regent, they had rendered so subservient to their views, it was most unwise in the Lords who adhered to Mary to set themselves in opposition to her son; for they ought to have perceived that they could not successfully contend against the great mass of the community, and that the allegiance, even of the majority of their own followers, was held by a tenure, which was every moment in danger of being dissolved by the prevalence of the doctrines which most of themselves had assisted to introduce.

From the instructions given by the Assembly to their deputies, it is also obvious, that new ecclesiastical arrangements were generally regarded as necessary, and this fact prepares the reader for those alterations which were so soon suggested and introduced.

Measures of the Regent to preserve tranquillity.

The Earl of Lennox had no sooner assumed his office, than he found himself compelled to adopt vigorous measures for restoring tranquillity, and preventing that civil war which was suspended over the kingdom. His first step was to defeat the design of the Queen's party, to hold what they called a Parliament, at Linlithgow. This was of much importance, and to secure success, he applied to the Earl of Sussex for some forces; and he de-

CHAP. II. 1570.

manded that Kircaldy, who, although he was now with Mary's faction, still made professions of regard for the Regent, would furnish him with some artillery. Sussex, instructed in the policy of his Sovereign, declined sending any part of his army till he received positive instructions from her; and Grange, after various excuses, declared that his services should never be wanting to promote concord, but that he would not be accessory to shedding the blood of his countrymen. Lennox, notwithstanding these mortifying repulses, resolved to repair to Linlithgow, with the followers whom he could collect; but he was saved from the necessity of having recourse to violence, for his opponents, dismayed or intimidated, did not attempt to carry their scheme into execution. * They did not however abandon the resolution of harassing his government, and continuing their efforts in favour of Mary. They endeavoured to prejudice the people against him, by representing him as completely under the guidance of Elizabeth, and, from numerous ties, more solicitous for her interest than for the prosperity and independence of a country which he had long forsaken. The Earl of Huntly, availing himself of his influence in the north, took possession of Brechin; and negotiations for again placing the Queen upon the throne were opened with the

* Buchanan, p. 392. Spottiswoode, p. 242. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 107. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 28, 29.

CHAP. II.

King of Spain, who held the Protestant faith in abhorrence, and detested whatever assumed the aspect of rebellion. Lennox and his council acted with decision. To efface the impression made by the rumours circulated against himself, he publicly declared that they were unfounded; and, professing the zeal which he really felt for the kingdom, he dispatched the Earl of Morton to the north, and soon followed him. He entered Brechin, and inflicted the punishment of death upon several of the military who had resisted, although they had previously served in the King's army. * 1570.

The great object of the Regent was effectually to weaken his adversaries, before the parliament which he had summoned to assemble in October. Aided by the incursions of the English, under pretence of punishing those who harboured the rebels, and had invaded the dominions of Elizabeth, he saw the opposition to him becoming daily weaker, and he had every reason to hope that it would soon cease. † He was, however, disappointed. Elizabeth, with that wavering and deceitful policy which she constantly followed with respect to Scotland Sept.

* Buchanan, p. 393. Spottiswoode, p. 242, compared with MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 63. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 107. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 31—35. For the negotiation of the Queen's lords with the King of Spain, see MS. Hist. of James, p. 64, 65. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 152, 153. Camden's Annals, p. 175—177. Bishop Leslie's negotiations, in Anderson, Vol. III. p. 108.

† Spottiswoode, p. 242, 243. Buchanan, MS. Hist. of James VI. Crawford and Camden, as last quoted.

CHAP. II. 1570.

and its wretched Queen, now announced her intention of resuming the cause of that princess, impelled by the remonstrances of France and Spain; and Lennox with astonishment received information that a treaty was to be set on foot for making peace between Mary and those of her former subjects who now adhered to her son. This intelligence strongly agitated him, for although the English Queen assured him that she would provide sufficiently for the interests of the young King, he saw that the effect of the negotiation would be to prolong the reign of anarchy and dissension in Scotland. *

Abstinence from hostilities.

He was not, however, able successfully to oppose her determination, and he at length consented to what she required of him,—that an abstinence from hostilities should take place for two months. † This measure having been arranged, she dispatched Cecil and Sir William Mildmay to make certain proposals to the Scotish Queen. The deliberations upon these were long protracted, but they ended, as might have been foreseen, in the continuation of that melancholy imprisonment by which the concluding years of her life were so much embittered. ‡

October.

* Buchanan, p. 393. Spottiswoode, p. 243. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 38, 39. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 201.

† Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Grainger's Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1108.

‡ Bishop Lesley's Negociations, in Anderson's Collection, Vol. III. p. 104, &c. Camden's Annals, p. 184, 185.

The parliament which had been called by the Regent having assembled, his election was confirmed, but all other proceedings were prevented by a request from Elizabeth, that, during the treaty with Mary, either no parliament should be held, or, if it were already constituted, that nothing contrary to her wishes should be sanctioned. Lennox felt the manly indignation which so insulting a proposal was calculated to excite, but he had the mortification to see that he could not assert his independence; and, after making some remonstrance evincing his dissatisfaction, he signified that he had adjourned the parliament till the month of January, by which time he hoped that the treaty would be concluded. Determined, however, to take every precaution for his safety, and offended at the conduct of Lethington, who was evidently plotting against him, he cited Maitland to appear before him and the council, and, upon his declining to do so, he confiscated his estate, and deprived him of his office, which was immediately given to Pitcairn. * 1570.

It belongs to the general history of this period to detail the measures taken with regard to Mary, and the reasons for which Elizabeth insisted that the abstinence should be prolonged. Without adverting to these, it is proper to return to the state of sentiment formed or encouraged by the ministers,

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 205. Spottiswoode, p. 240, 241. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 68. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 82.

CHAP. II.

and to trace the manner in which Knox acted during this season of difficulty and danger.

1570. Decided conduct of Knox.

His steady attachment to the Protestant faith and to the civil liberty, which he conceived to depend upon the establishment of a Protestant government, combined with his natural warmth of temper and intrepidity of spirit, led him to espouse, in the most decided manner, the part of the Regent, and to give every support to his administration. Acting upon his favourite principle, that it belonged to the ministers of religion, in perilous times, to watch over the conduct of all classes of men, he embraced every opportunity to reprove what he detested as a defection from the best of causes, and to reprobate what seemed to him setting at defiance the authority of the monarch. The conduct of the governor of the castle he highly disapproved, but his disapprobation was mingled with those kindly feelings, and that earnest desire for his reformation, which the recollection of their early friendship, and their former efforts for the success of the Congregation, naturally created. He was, however, soon called, by the imperious voice of public duty, openly to blame this man, whom he had once loved and esteemed, and he had, in consequence, the mortification, when bending under the infirmities of age, and the pressure of disease, to be compelled to vindicate himself from the harsh misrepresentations by which Kircaldy sought to hold him forth

to the indignation of the people. * The governor, irritated by some injury which had been done to one of his relations, sent a party from the castle to take vengeance on a person of the name of Seaton, who had been present. Seaton naturally defended himself from the assault which was made on him, but, overpowered by numbers, he was put to death. The magistrates of Edinburgh, informed of the outrage, intercepted the governor's servants, and, having seized one of them, committed him to prison. Grange had the audacity to rescue this man, and, that he might alarm the inhabitants of the town, he discharged his artillery from the castle. In every point of view this action was most culpable. It was a violation of law,—it was giving licence to the most enormous wickedness,—and it was an assumption of power totally inconsistent with submission to the government. In this light it was regarded by Knox, and although, from a late attack of apoplexy, his bodily strength was much impaired, he determined, upon his first public appearance, to make known what he thought. He, without hesitation, avowed from the pulpit, that he had never witnessed so flagrant a breach of the duty of a subject, a fact, to use his own expression, so slanderous, so fearful, and tyrannical, not so much from its own nature, as from the character of him by whom

CHAP. II. 1570. December.

* Knox had, a little before the events recorded in the text, been struck with apoplexy. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 206. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 54.

CHAP. II. 1570.

it had been committed;—a man long distinguished by his regard for religion, and by a deportment so unlike the treason of which he had been guilty. Kircaldy heard, with the utmost indignation, of this discourse, which, strong as it was, had been exaggerated to him. He solicited Craig, the colleague of Knox, to declare to the congregation to which he ministered, that what had been laid to his charge was false, and he insinuated that Knox had been more thirsty of innocent blood than he whom he had attacked. When Craig declined interfering, he presented to the session a full statement of what had happened, solemnly declaring, that he had never intended the murder of Seaton, and beseeching, not only that his character might be cleared from the aspersions which had been cast on it, but that Knox should be censured, as having acted maliciously, and contrary to the laws of the church. Knox probably believed that there was an intention to destroy his respectability; he therefore pointed out the errors into which the governor had fallen with respect to the sermon, but he concluded with bewailing the offences which Grange had committed against God, against the party with which he had formerly been united, against the church, and the magistrate. Kircaldy did not prosecute his intention of vilifying the venerable father of the Reformation, contenting himself with threatening afterwards to accuse him; but the zealous Protestants of the west were filled with apprehension, lest

CHAP. II.

some attempt should be made upon the life of one whom they so much venerated; and they addressed a letter to Kircaldy, intimating to him how reluctant they were to believe that he could meditate any injury to so bright an ornament of that religion which he himself had defended at the hazard of property and life; but assuring him, that they took the most tender care of one whom God had made both the first planter, and the chief maturer of the reformed church in Scotland, and that they valued his life as they did their own. * 1570.

The circumstances which have been mentioned shew the intrepidity of Knox, and that he was revered as the great support of that revolution which he had been so instrumental in accomplishing.— But there also occurred events deeply agitating his mind, and which more directly exhibit him as the strenuous defender of the King, and as acting in very trying situations, consistently with those manly and liberal political principles which he had uniformly avowed. During the period of Mary's residence in Scotland, he had beheld, with deep abhorrence, her firm attachment to the Popish faith, and those attempts which he believed were de- 1571.

* For a full account of this part of the Life of Knox see Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 206—212. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 67—86. Wodrow's Life of Knox, Vol. VI. folio, of his MSS. p. 188—190. Since the above was written, it is in my power to refer to M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 337, 338. Consult, as to the outrage of Kircaldy, MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 72, 73, and Spottiswoode. p. 248.

CHAP. II.

signed to subvert the liberty and the independence of the kingdom. Although he submitted to her administration, he conceived that the great end of government was defeated; and he would at no time have felt repugnance to deprive her of the crown. Her resignation he viewed as putting an end to her reign. He zealously concurred in the determination to crown her son; and he officiated at the coronation. After her demission, however, he seems to have continued to pray for her, as the mother of his sovereign; but at length, from regarding her as eager to subvert the new establishment, he gave over this practice, and prevailed upon the church, which was much guided by him, to imitate his example. This was naturally resented by the lords who remained attached to the Queen. They readily discerned the effect which the omission of her name in the supplications of the ministers would produce on the minds of the people; but professing, as they always did, to be friendly to the Protestant religion, they were unwilling openly to direct their enmity against Knox, who was regarded as its most intrepid defender. An effort, however, was made to excite popular indignation against him, by representing his conduct as incompatible with his allegiance, and with those feelings which, as a minister of religion, it was his duty to cherish.

1571.

March. Whilst the General Assembly was convened, an anonymous paper, addressed to the superin-

tendents, the ministers, and the church, was thrown into the place of meeting, and was afterwards affixed to the door of the church, complaining that he had frequently inveighed against the Queen, and those professing her grace's obedience; that, in opposition to his duty, which was to pray for her, and to enjoin others to pray for her welfare, repentance, and conversion, he not only did not pray for her, but spoke of her as a reprobate who could not repent, merely because she wished to be restored to her own realm, justly appertaining to her both by divine and human right, thus mingling civil matters with the preaching of the word of God, and dividing the church into factions, to the great danger, not only of the church, but of the state. The paper concluded with a supplication, that he might be restrained in the licence which he had used; declaring, that, if he was not, the Assembly would be held as partakers of the schism; and the persons who wrote the paper would be compelled, by more violent methods, to accomplish their object. The Assembly ordered a proclamation to be made, calling upon the slanderers of Knox to appear, that the charges adduced by them might be investigated; but when the consequence of this was only the production of another anonymous libel, stating, that if he persisted in doing what had given offence, many would appear against him at the ensuing Assembly, the members did

CHAP. II. 1571.

CHAP. II. 1571.

not think it necessary to take any farther steps than to signify their approbation of what Knox had done. Several of his friends advised him to neglect these charges, which, from the manner of their being brought forward, were as contemptible as they were malicious; but he was convinced that they were made with the worst intentions; and, weak as he was, he defended himself against them in a discourse which he soon after delivered, with a vigour of eloquence, an energy of argument, and an expansion of political principle, which prove that the strength of his mind was unimpaired, and that he adhered to those enlightened maxims of government which he had, from the commencement of his public life, so strenuously inculcated. He expressly avowed, that he did not consider the Queen as his sovereign. He said, that the guilt of treason had been incurred by those who supported her pretensions after she had resigned the throne, and had by the people been esteemed unworthy to retain it;—that the estates of the kingdom had installed the prince in his high office; and that he had only defended what had been legally ordained;—that, far from dividing the church into factions, he only reproved vice, which he conceived to be the sacred duty of a minister of truth; and, alluding to the threat of his enemies, that they would accuse him to the next Assembly, if he had courage to wait the accusation, he remarked, "Whether I

shall abide the law at this time, I know not; for my days are in the hand of Him upon whom I depend, who hath guided me through many troubles, and hath preserved me to decrepid age, which is not apt to fly far; but I have never been a fugitive from the flock whereto I was bound, without their own command." *

In a private defence, which he delivered on the succeeding Sunday to the members of his own congregation, and which was occasioned by a new charge of sedition, schism, and erroneous doctrine, he referred to his book upon the government of women which had often been urged against him; endeavoured to reconcile with it his attachment to Elizabeth; and, much affected with an allegation that he had sought support for what was inconsistent with the interest of his native country, he, with much vehemence of expression, but with much warmth of patriotic feeling, concluded, "What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 215—220. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 99—114. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 73, 74. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 164—167. In a note, Crawford has given several extracts from the defence made by Knox. The copy of his work which I consult, had belonged to the late Lord Gardenstone, who was in the practice of writing remarks upon the margins of the books which he perused. At the conclusion of Crawford's note, he has written, "An astonishing boldness and eloquence." It appears, from the Buik of the Universal Kirk, that the Assembly had not recorded its proceedings upon the anonymous charges. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 190—196.

CHAP. II.

1571.

the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness."* Succeeding ages have indeed reaped the fruit of his exertions; have, in consequence of them, enjoyed a degree of liberty and prosperity which has raised Britain to the high place which she holds amongst the nations of the world; but it has been the hard fate of Knox to be forgotten, or to be despised. To appreciate the services which he rendered to Scotland, we must not look to the histories in which, if he be at all mentioned, he is reprobated as a bigot, or, with the cutting sneer of affected liberality, branded as an enthusiast,—but we must attend to his actions, we must weigh the difficulties which he surmounted, and contemplate the revolution which he accomplished. It may, however, be hoped that his prediction will still be verified,—that his character will be cleared from the shades which have been cast over it; and that, with gratitude for civil and ecclesiastical blessings, we shall mingle some admiration of him who so nobly struggled that they might be the inheritance of his country.

Negociations respecting Mary. 1570. Oct.

After the Regent had, at the earnest request of Elizabeth, consented to the armistice, the friends of Mary asserted that there was a prospect of her being restored to the crown; but all apprehension on this subject was terminated by a letter from

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 221. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 115—120. Wodrow, Vol. VI. p. 196.

Cecil, who was known to speak the real sentiments of his sovereign, expressing the most tender concern for the young king, and advising Lennox to send agents firmly attached to James, to conduct the conferences which were to take place relating to his mother. At an assembly of the nobles, it was, in consequence, agreed to dispatch the Earl of Morton, with Macgil, a lawyer, to join the Abbot of Dunfermline, who had, some time before, gone to the English court, to adjourn the Parliament, and to prolong the abstinence till the ensuing May.* 1570.

In the irritated state of parties, the abstinence was not strictly observed by either of the contending factions. Lord Claud Hamilton, availing himself of a favourable opportunity, took the Abbey of Paisley, and the Regent, determined to check such hostilities, immediately marched to Glasgow. Having collected some forces, he went to Paisley, besieged the Abbey, recovered it within a few days; and, in order to strike terror into their associates, he ordered some of the soldiers who had surrendered, to be carried to Edinburgh and executed. This was soon succeeded by an enterprize of considerable importance, both from its difficulty, and from the accession of power which, through it, was 1571. Regent gets possession of Dunbarton Castle.

* Buchanan, p. 393. Spottiswoode, p. 245 and 248. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 206. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 67. Camden's Annals, p. 190. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 630. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 71. Bishop Leslie's Negociations, in Anderson's Collections, Vol. III. p. 103.

CHAP. II.

1571. April.

made to the government. The castle of Dunbarton was a place of great strength, and had been long in possession of the Queen's friends. Murray had in vain attempted to get the command of it, and it might have set at defiance all the efforts which could have been directed against it. But its natural strength, and that relaxation of discipline which is so common in long protracted struggles, paved the way for its surrender. A report of the carelessness with which it was guarded had been conveyed to the Regent, and he instantly formed the spirited resolution of making upon it a vigorous attack. He dispatched three companies, under the command of Crawford, Ramsay, and Home, officers in whose military skill he confided, who having fortunately procured a discontented servant from the castle to act as their guide, prepared for scaling the walls. Crawford, aware of the danger attending the plan, did not conceal it from his troops. He expatiated upon the honour which, by being victorious, they would acquire, and he requested, that if any of them had the smallest doubt of his courage, he would withdraw, and not, through his cowardice, involve, after the attack had commenced, himself and his companions in inevitable destruction. This address excited that enthusiasm of courage, which courts difficulty, and delights in danger; every man was elated that he had been selected for so glorious an achievement, and the ladders and ropes by which they were to ascend

the precipice were distributed. About an hour before day, they reached the foot of the rock, and placed the ladders. From being insecurely fixed, these, after they had begun to ascend, gave way, and all who were upon them fell to the ground. Undismayed at this accident, they again applied them, and proceeding with more deliberation, they got in safety to the middle of the rock. Having collected in a small gap which they here found, they fastened the ladders to the precipice which had yet to be surmounted, and, without hesitation, commenced the perilous ascent. One of the soldiers, at this dreadful moment, was seized with a fit, and clung so fast to the ladder that he could not be disengaged. To pass him was impossible, and certain ruin awaited them if he remained. With admirable presence of mind they tied him to the ladder, and having turned it, they reached, without injuring him, the top of the rock. There was still a high wall which it was necessary to scale, and although it was scarcely possible to find a resting-place for the ladders, they persevered. One of them, at length, succeeded in getting upon the top of the wall. He was seen by a centinel, who gave the alarm, but who was immediately cut down. Crawford, at this moment, joined his companion, and the wall, yielding to the presure of the multitude, who, with much eagerness were climbing it, fell, and rendered the access to the fortress much easier than it would otherwise have been.

CHAP. II. 1571.

CHAP. II. 1571.

Having now formed, they rushed to the house of the governor, crying out the watch-word which they had agreed to use. Consternation was spread through the garrison. Ignorant of the numbers of the enemy, and stunned by what they had conceived to be impossible, they made no resistance. Lord Fleming, the governor, fled, by a secret passage, to the side of the river, and having found a boat, effectuated his escape; but the Archbishop of St Andrews, Verac the French ambassador, Lady Fleming, and several other persons of distinction, were taken.*

The Regent immediately upon receiving the gratifying intelligence, came to Dunbarton. When he surveyed the situation of the castle, he was filled with amazement at the intrepidity to which he owed the possession of it; and the soldiers themselves, shrinking at the recollection of their danger, declared that, had they calmly considered it, they would not have made the attempt. † Lennox acted towards Lady Fleming with generosity, the display of which mitigates the horrors of war. He not only permitted her to depart in safety, but he

* Buchanan, p. 391—396, has beautifully described the situation of Dunbarton, and given a most interesting account of the enterprize against it. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 229—231. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 129—128. Spottiswoode, p. 251, 252. Memorial from the year of our Lord 1569, a MS. in the University Library at Edinburgh, with the inspection of which I was kindly favoured by Dr Duncan, Jun.

† Buchanan, p. 396. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 172, 173.

restored to her the furniture and plate of her husband untouched; and from the estates of her family, which had been forfeited at the beginning of Murray's regency, allotted to her a sufficient provision for the support of herself and her children. Verac had, by decisively espousing the cause of Mary, and by some depredations of which he had been guilty, forfeited the privileges of an ambassador; but the Regent, in opposition to the opinion of some of the council, wisely determined to respect this man's public character, and he sent him to St Andrews, from which he returned to France. * CHAP. II. 1571.

The archbishop of St Andrews was imprisoned in Stirling, and it was resolved to proceed against him with unrelenting severity. He was not only nearly allied to the house of Hamilton, the ancient rivals of the family of Lennox, but he had much influence over his party; was consulted by them in all their schemes; and had taken an active part in promoting the restoration of Mary. He was accused, agreeably to what seems to have been almost the invariable practice in the case of all who were destined to suffer, of having been accessory to the death of Darnly; and he was charged, amongst other crimes, with having been privy to the murder of the Earl of Murray. The first part of the accusation rested upon the evidence of a priest, who, by shewing himself capable of betraying what Archbishop of St Andrews condemned and executed.

* Buchanan, p. 396. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 178.

CHAP. II. 1571.

he alleged had been revealed to him in confession, forfeited all claim to integrity, and destroyed the credibility of his testimony; but it has been affirmed that the primate acknowledged his having been acquainted with the scheme of cutting off Murray; said that he might have prevented it; and lamented that political zeal had urged him not to arrest the hand of the assassin. Upon what ground this assertion rests, has not been clearly ascertained; but it certainly appears in the highest degree improbable, that the archbishop would criminate himself, and it seems almost certain from what followed that he did not do so. Had he, upon his own confession, been convicted of being implicated in the death of Murray, this would have most justly subjected him to the severest punishment; and, in the state in which the country then was, it would have been gladly announced as the cause of his being executed. But it was abandoned, and he was sent to the scaffold, because sentence of attainder had been pronounced against him by a parliament held by Murray, when the Queen's friends believed that he would not have held it, and held, too, at a time when there was at least much room for pardoning those who scrupled to recognize the title of the infant monarch. If stronger charges could have been established against the primate, we may warrantably conclude that they would not have been cast out of sight; that the government would not have preferred appearing unjust or unmerciful to

being venerated as virtuously avenging the melancholy fate of the good Regent; would not have denied to the archbishop's earnest importunities, what was the right of the meanest of the people, a fair investigation into his conduct, and an opportunity of legally establishing his innocence. This determination of Lennox and the council cannot be too harshly censured; it was the very essence of tyranny; it was wresting from an unhappy man the privilege, which, as a human being, he could demand; and it was establishing a precedent, which, had it been followed, would have restored, in its blackest deformity, the oppression which it was the glory of the Reformation to have banished from Scotland. There was indeed too plain an indication that some private antipathy, or some weak apprehension, unworthy of freemen, lurked in the breasts of those who hastened the disastrous end of this eminent individual, for his death was aggravated by the insulting mode in which it was inflicted; he was dragged to the scene of his sufferings with savage speed, and he was doomed to the infamous punishment allotted to the lowest and most depraved criminals. *

* Buchanan, p. 396, 397. Spottiswoode, p. 252. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 232. Leslie's Negociations, in Anderson's Collections, Vol. III. p. 143—145. The bishop expressed his apprehension that the primate would suffer from some old quarrels of feade, which Lennox bore against him. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 380. Mackenzie's Life of Hamilton, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 165. Camden's Annals, p. 192. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 76, 77.

CHAP. II.

1571. April 7. Remarks upon his execution.

Had Lennox coolly reflected, he might have discerned that this measure was as unwise as it was reprehensible. When he had the command of Hamilton's person, he could easily have prevented him from any interference in public affairs unfavourable to the cause of James; and the desire, either of relieving a prisoner in whom they were so much interested, or of saving him from condemnation, would have inclined the Queen's party to negotiate, and might have prevented much of the suffering, and many of the tragical events which soon after stained the history of Scotland.

His character.

The Archbishop's character was far from being spotless, but he possessed considerable virtues, and, under other circumstances, might have been useful to his country. His talents were respectable, and had, in early life, been assiduously cultivated; he was, for the period in which he lived, deeply versed in theological and moral science; he made several efforts to reform the Popish clergy, and to excite them to the discharge of their duties; and he left, in the catechism which he composed or approved, a striking proof of his learning, and of his moderation. Although he was led, upon some unhappy occasions, to sanction the enormities of persecution, he was constitutionally mild, and had the merit of restraining the cruelty which his predecessor in the primacy had delighted to exercise.

Crawford's Memoirs, p. 174, 175. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1117.

CHAP. II.

1571.

But he had been corrupted by the dissolute manners which were so prevalent amongst the clergy of the Romish communion, and, whilst he urged upon others a strict regard to temperance, he did did not seek in his own conduct to preserve even the decency with which he might have been expected to veil his vices. He was avaricious, and has been charged with inducing his brother, whilst he was Regent, to pillage, under the cloak of justice. From attachment to Arran, or from ambition, he took an active part in political discussions and political measures, thus embittering his latter years with anxiety and apprehension, and exciting that antipathy or that dread, which, upon the unexpected surrender of the fortress where he had long been protected, subjected him to a death so different from that by which he once could have thought that he would be overtaken.*

New commotions.

The ignominious death of the primate, the cessation of the treaty with Mary, and the return of the Earl of Morton with the other commissioners, counteracted the effect which the capture of Dunbarton Castle produced upon the Lords attached to the Queen. Exasperated with what they repre-

* Spottiswoode, p. 251. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 253, 261, compared with Crawford's Memoirs, p. 175, and Mackenzie's Life of Archbishop Hamilton, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 106. It is amusing to read the attempts which the two last writers make to vindicate the primate from dissoluteness. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 381.

CHAP. II.

1571. April.

sented as cruelty on the part of the Regent, aggravated by insult,—irritated at the unworthy treatment of the wretched Mary,—and trembling for their own safety, they determined to unite and prevent the meeting of the approaching parliament, at which they had no doubt that decisive steps would be taken against them. Depending upon the friendship of the governor of the castle, who had now thrown off all disguise, they entered Edinburgh, took by force the records of parliament, and whatever they imagined was essential for constituting a lawful assembly of the estates.* They also commanded the clergy to pray for the Queen, but this mandate they without hesitation disobeyed, and thus again evinced that firmness with which they had constantly adhered to the principles upon which they professed to act.†

Knox leaves Edinburgh. 5th May.

Great fear was at this period entertained for the safety of Knox. Unintimidated by the union of the Queen's party, by the violent conduct of Kircaldy, and by the forcible manner in which he had estab-

* Buchanan, p. 402. Spottiswoode, p. 252. Bannatyne's Journal, under April and May 1571. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 77. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 182, 183.

† Spottiswoode and Crawford as last quoted. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 524. This author, with a candour which he often displays, remarks, that the order was disobeyed, and adds, "Not examining whether the ministers were right or wrong, I can't help commending them for the consistency of their practice. They might be rebels but 'tis certain they were no hypocrites. They had courage to maintain their sentiment,—to face the danger and stand to the event."

lished his influence in the city, this intrepid reformer openly prayed for the King and the Regent, and had earnestly exhorted the people to be resolute in supporting the present authority. Such decided opposition to the faction it was dreaded would expose him to danger. As some security against this, his house was guarded by his zealous friends, and an application was made to some of the Queen's party that he might be protected. To this it was answered, that the governor was anxious for his safety, but that he could not ensure it unless he came to the castle, or withdrew from the city; and when Kircaldy requested from the Hamiltons a promise that Knox should not be injured, they declined, alleging, that although they sincerely wished it, the wish might be defeated by the violence of some of their followers. It was evident, from all this, that his continuance in Edinburgh would probably prove fatal to him, and that the governor, who could have effectually protected him, was, notwithstanding his professions, not disposed to do so. It was therefore resolved to implore him to retire to St Andrews, till the dark cloud which hung over the metropolis should be dispersed. His friends were fully aware that he would resist the proposal. His maxim had uniformly been, not to desert his station in the hour of danger, and they knew, that, from this maxim, he was not at the present moment disposed to deviate. Yet feeling, as they did, the most tender concern for his preservation, they per-

CHAP. II.

1571. May.

sisted, notwithstanding a former failure, in urging him; and numbers of his congregation, attended by Craig, his intrepid colleague, waited upon him, to beseech that he would consult his safety. He expressed his strong reluctance to take the step which they recommended; but when they mentioned, that if he remained they would hazard their lives in his defence, and that he must impute to his aversion to depart the blood which would probably be shed, he yielded, and, with the deepest regret, he next morning left Edinburgh. *

The Regent holds a parliament. May 14.

The Earl of Lennox, although he was excluded from the metropolis, determined to hold the parliament which he had summoned, and, having consulted upon the legality of the proceeding, he ordered it to meet in that part of the Canongate which is within the jurisdiction of Edinburgh. In it Maitland of Lethington, the Abbot of Kilwinning, and several of the leading men of the opposite faction, were declared guilty of treason, after which it was, on account of the state of the kingdom, adjourned till the month of August, to convene at

* Bannatyne's Journal, p. 144 and 146. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 241. Spottiswoode, p. 252. Knox left Edinburgh on the 8th of May, and reached St Andrews soon after, where he remained till the month of August in the following year. It may be mentioned, that Bannatyne, who states that his master left Edinburgh on the 5th, afterwards says that he departed on the morn of the 8th of May. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 197, 198. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 14. This writer mentions, that during Knox's residence at St Andrews, a play was acted before him. P. 15.

Stirling. The situation of Scotland was, at this period, indeed, most deplorable. Torn by party-spirit, which existed in its most shocking malignity, there was no confidence and no security. Even domestic society no longer afforded the enjoyment resulting from the conviction that in it the thoughts might be safely disclosed, for families were divided,—father and son were opposed to each other,—and the great part of the community were groaning under the evils, which, in a nation torn by civil dissensions, blast prosperity, and entail the most lamentable wretchedness. * 1571. May.

Interference of the church.

The clergy beheld the scenes daily exhibited with the deepest commiseration, and having met at Leith, they resolved to make one exertion for calming the fury of the contending parties, and uniting them in the service of the King. A deputation, consisting of the superintendent of Fife, Craig, and probably some others, were admitted into the castle, and being received by the chief of the Queen's faction, entered upon the subject which they were anxious to discuss. The superintendent intimated, that the design of their mission was to endeavour, if it pleased God, to remove the intestine troubles of the kingdom; that the church conceived this to be their duty, enforced by a communication made by the lords in the castle, that they had the same object in

* Buchanan, p. 402, 409. Spottiswoode, p. 254. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 151 and 161. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 78. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 178.

CHAP. II.

1571. May.

view, and that, as representing the church, they were ready to hear any propositions which might be conveyed to the Assembly held in the King's name, as the ground of agreement. Maitland replied, that the lords in the castle considered themselves as the chief of the nobility, and expected proposals to come from the lords in the Canongate; that if these lords would acknowledge how much they had erred, and would desire the mediation of the Queen's party for procuring to them pardon and security for their estates and honours, concord might be restored;—but that, if they were not prepared for such submission, no offers would be made from the castle. The person who has reported the conference here interposed, and said that there was no occasion for continuing it; but Craig, who was eager to expostulate with Maitland and those who had once recognized the title of James, observed, that there had been a government lawfully established in the King and the Regent, and that it was their duty, as members of the church, to enjoin submission to the constituted authorities.* This led Maitland to enter upon a long and disingenuous defence of his own conduct, and to give a strange

* It does not clearly appear, from Bannatyne's Journal, who is the reporter of the conference. I thought it was the superintendent of Fife, but there is one expression which seems to imply that it was a different person. Whoever he was, he was the chief speaker. Wodrow, in his MS. Craig, MSS. 1st Vol. folio, p. 10, supposes that Craig was the reporter

account of the origin of that government to which Craig had alluded. He observed, that the resolution to crown James was the offspring of necessity, and was intended to ward of the danger with which they who took this step were then threatened, but that it had never been their design that it should be permanent; that he now confessed that he had been wrong in advising this measure, for that James never could be legally king of Scotland during his mother's life. He appealed to the lords present whether what he had said was not true. They readily confirmed it; and Sir James Balfour declared, that he knew all the transactions of that period, and could positively affirm that a just view had been given of the intention of those with whom they originated. One of the ministers answered, that he could not tell by what secret motives the lords were actuated, but of this he was certain, that plain and honest men had no conception of the existence of such motives, and would have heard of them with abhorrence; that the government had been sanctioned by the proper authority, and that, till the same authority overturned it, its acts should be obeyed. This being also urged by the superintendent of Fife, Maitland had recourse to the most despicable sophistry, insisting, that, as the Popish religion had been rejected without any regular order, although it had been long upheld by the sovereigns of Scotland, the government of James might be set aside without any formal order of the estates

CHAP. II.

1571. May.

CHAP. II.

1571. May.

by which it had been erected. It required little ingenuity to expose the fallacy of this reasoning, and the commissioners returned to their great argument, that governments confirmed by those expressing the voice of the people should be supported. Upon this Balfour turned from the point directly under discussion, and expressed his surprise that the church should have passed an act declaring the King's government to be a lawful one, and entitled to the reverence of the people. This was said by the commissioners to be an inaccurate statement, the church not having entered into the abstract question what authority was lawful, but simply affirming that the King's authority which had been established should be respected. When they were asked how the King's authority had been established, they answered, that they rested this opinion upon two grounds,—that it had been sanctioned in parliament, and that it had been universally obeyed, no other form of government having, by any party, been instituted. Balfour said, that the parliament which had done this was not a lawful one. The commissioners shewed that this assertion had no foundation, and Maitland, leaving this point, accused the King's lords of being guided by the most mercenary considerations. This gave rise to a long discussion, in which the allegations of party against both factions were brought forward, after which Craig intimated his astonishment, that, whatever might be the opinion of the Duke, and of some

other lords who were present, Maitland, Kircaldy, and Balfour, should have the slightest hesitation in admitting the King's authority, when they had not only once admitted it, but had been the most active instruments in his exaltation to the throne. To this Maitland once more answered, that the resolution to put the crown on the head of the Prince arose from the Queen's demission of the sovereignty, adding, that now, when the demission had been discovered to have been the effect of compulsion, no regard could be paid to it. The commissioners denied that the resignation had been extorted, and the conversation closed with a defence of Lennox, whom Maitland had represented as devoted to England, and as, on that account, totally unfit for the high office which he had assumed. *

CHAP. II. 1571.

All possibility of restoring unanimity being now, by the lords who occupied the castle, done away, the Regent retired to Stirling, and, contemplating with sorrow the warfare which desolated the kingdom, he sent to Elizabeth a representation of the miserable situation of the country, and entreated that

Interference of Elizabeth.

* Bannatyne's Journal, p. 156—161. The account of the conference, which is given at great length in the Journal, is most interesting, and discloses, more fully than any other document, the high pretensions of the Queen's party. It unveils the duplicity of Maitland, and reflects much credit upon the acuteness, the moderation, and the sound principles of the commissioners who enforced the wishes of the church. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 241—48. Wodrow's Life of Craig, p. 10—16, in MSS. Collections, Vol. I. folio. There is some variation between the account of Wodrow and Bannatyne, but very slight.

CHAP. II. 1571.

she would act with decision in terminating troubles which were every hour becoming more formidable. She sent Sir William Drury to ascertain the real state of affairs; and she was convinced, by his report, that her interference was necessary; but, still adhering to the ungenerous policy of fomenting the two factions, and thus exhausting Scotland, she did no more than propose that Edinburgh should be thrown open, and that Kircaldy, under certain conditions, should retain the command of the castle.*

This negociation terminated, as it was probably intended that it should do, without effecting reconciliation; it rather exasperated the contending parties, disposing them steadily to pursue the schemes which perverted ambition, or a regard to private interest, had unhappily suggested.

Queen's lord hold a parliament. 12th June.

In the conference which took place between the commissioners from the church, and the lords in the castle, these commissioners strenuously supported the existing government, upon the ground of its having been approved by parliament. This confirmed, if it did not create the resolution of the Queen's faction, to hold what they denominated a parliament, and what the historians partial to them have styled the loyal parliament. It met on the 12th of June, and was opened with great solemnity, Lord Home bearing the sword, Huntly the sceptre, and the Duke the crown. There was presented to it a

* Spottiswoode, p. 23[illegible]. Calderwood MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 249. Crawford's Memoir, p. 186—188.

supplication from the Queen, detailing all the circumstances which had attended her abdication of the throne; declaring that she had been threatened with violence if she did not abdicate; and that she had been advised, by her best friends, as she valued her life, not to hesitate about signing the deeds which her enemies had prepared. After reasoning upon the invalidity of the whole transaction, she implored that the estates would take it under their consideration, and, if they saw cause, would decree that the government of the Prince, being founded upon deeds which had been extorted from the reigning sovereign, was illegal, and that all the subjects should submit to his mother as their lawful Queen. The act passed, in consequence of the supplication, was as explicit as it could be framed. The lords, spiritual and temporal, with the commissioners, ordained that the Queen's demission was of no effect, and that she was virtually and truly the possessor of the crown. To shew, however, that they had not swerved from the Protestant faith, they also enacted, "that no man should take in hand to alter, change, innovate, or pervert, in any sort, the form of religion and administration of the sacraments, publicly professed and established within the realm; and that the gospel, sincerely preached, should have course, and be propagated without hindrance, to the honour of God, and the comfort of his church." To this act they subjoined an in-

CHAP. II.

1571.

June.

CHAP. II. 1571. junction, that all superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers, should pray in a decent form for the Queen's majesty, our sovereign lady, and her dearest son the Prince, for her Highness's council, and for the whole body and states of the commonwealth. *

June 13. These acts were proclaimed next day at the Cross of Edinburgh, and the ministers were not only required to read them to their congregations, but actually to pray for the Queen. This they refused to do; and they were prohibited from preaching till they should comply. † Indeed, one melancholy consequence of the state of the metropolis was an almost total suspension of divine worship and of religious instruction; for it was not safe to assemble in the churches, against which the artillery in the castle was often directed, whilst the constant anxiety which the struggles of the two parties occasioned, and the unceasing vigilance necessary for securing safety, were not favourable to that tranquillity of mind which, though not requisite for private devotion, is almost essential for the observance of the public ordinances of religion. ‡

After this open defiance of the Regent and his

* Bannatyne's Journal, p. 222—240, where there is a very full account of the proceedings of this parliament. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 253—256. Spottiswoode, p. 254. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 84, 85. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 188—190.

† Bannatyne's Journal, p. 231.

‡ Bannatyne's Journal, p. 146. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 85.

CHAP. II.

government, few days passed without some conflict, and the horrors of civil war were widely experienced. When Sir William Drury, having failed in the purpose of his embassy, was leaving Edinburgh, he was escorted by the lords in the castle. The Earl of Morton, who had been confined by indisposition at Leith, upon hearing this, immediately assembled some forces, and placed himself on the road by which Drury was to pass. The ambassador, perceiving him, considered it as his duty to prevent a battle arising from attention paid to himself, but his endeavours were fruitless, and the two parties engaged with much impetuosity. The Queen's troops severely suffered. The abbot of Kilwinning, a man highly esteemed for his candour and moderation, was unfortunately killed; Lord Home and Captain Cullen, a zealous partizan, were taken prisoners; and nearly fifty of the soldiers were slain. Morton purchased the victory almost without loss. *

1571 Unceasing skirmishes.

June 28.

The Regent having returned to Leith, disposed of the prisoners, sending Lord Home to the Castle of Tantallon, and ordering Cullen, who was a distant relation of Huntly, and, from his cruelty, was

Kircaldy's conduct reprobated by the King's faction.

* Buchanan, p. 101. Spottiswoode, p. 251, 253. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 234—236, compared with MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 86, 87, and Crawford's Memoirs, p. 192, 193. Spottiswoode says, that the conflict took place on the 28th of June, MS. Hist. on the 26th, and Crawford upon the 16th; all of them, however, agree that it was upon a Saturday, which, from this event, was called Black Saturday.

CHAP. II. 1571.

held in detestation to be executed. Whilst the army was encamped with Lennox, the conduct of Kircaldy, who, from having been a zealous defender of the king, was now the chief fomenter of rebellion, was severely reprobated, and the appellation of traitor was freely given to him. Upon this being reported, he was filled with indignation, and he sent a messenger to the Regent's camp to announce that he would engage in single combat with any one who dared to fix upon him so foul an imputation. One of the king's officers, delighted with the opportunity of signalizing himself, readily accepted the challenge of the governor; but after the time and place of their encounter had been fixed, Grange declined it upon this ground, which before his defiance he should certainly have examined, that it was thought improper that he should injure the Queen's cause, by hazarding his own person. In the course of the correspondence to which this incident gave rise, many singular and interesting facts were brought to light, and the versatility or the treachery of Kircaldy was too clearly established.*

Elizabeth again without effect interferes.

It would be painful, and happily is not requisite, to detail the innumerable conflicts which took place, trifling in themselves, but indicating the ferocity of those who were engaged in them, and portending

* Spottiswoode, p. 275. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 181—222, where the whole correspondence is detailed.

the desolation and the ruin of the kingdom. Elizabeth, although she might have been convinced that the superiority of either party would now be decided by the sword, again interfered, with injunctions to negotiate, but Lennox, satisfied that this was impracticable, declined agreeing to an abstinence, and refused to answer the points to which she referred, till he had assembled Parliament.* CHAP. II. 1571.

The opposite faction were equally satisfied that the proposal could have no good effect. That they might have the sanction of the estates for the strong measures which they were to adopt, they held a Parliament, and although only five who were entitled to sit and vote in the great assembly of the nation were present, they pronounced a sentence of forfeiture against no fewer than two hundred persons.† Aug. 22.

The Parliament, according to the resolution in June, met at Stirling, and was opened by the infant King. It was numerously attended, and amongst the noblemen present were the Earl of Argyll, and Lord Boyd, who had deserted the cause of the Queen, and had again cordially joined with their former friends in strengthening the government of the Regent.‡ In this meeting some of the most Parliament at Stirling, Aug. 28.

* Spottiswoode, p. 255.

† Buchanan, p. 405. Spottiswoode, p. 256. Bannatyne's Journal, p 247.

‡ Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 283, 284. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 246, 247. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 90, 91. The

CHAP. II. 1570.

distinguished and powerful of the opposite party were forfeited, and several interesting measures were approved; but while it was proceeding with its deliberations, these were interrupted by a melancholy event, which filled with sorrow all ranks of men who sincerely loved their country.

Death of the Regent, Sept. 3.

The garrison in the castle had been successful in some skirmishes with that part of the Regent's army which, during the meeting of Parliament, continued at Leith, and, elated at this success, the governor and his council formed a scheme for terminating, by one decisive blow, the warfare which had so long been protracted. Kircaldy having been informed that no precautions were taken at Stirling against hostile attack, dispatched a chosen party of men, under the command of the Earl of Huntly and Lord Claud Hamilton. They left Edinburgh a little before sun-set, and having reached Stirling early in the morning, they were led into the town by Captain Bell, an officer who was intimately acquainted with all the ways by which access could be obtained. They found, as they had expected, the most profound silence and tranquillity, and having stationed the soldiers in different parts of the

writer of this work mentions, that the Regent had bribed Argyll and Boyd to support him; it is probable that they were convinced that the most effectual mode of restoring tranquillity to the kingdom, was to strengthen the authority of Lennox, which they knew would be upheld by Elizabeth. This is confirmed by subsequent events. Life of the Earl of Argyll in Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 191.

town, they surrounded the houses of the Regent, of the Earl of Morton, and of the other noblemen whom they were anxious to seize. Resistance was attempted in vain, and they succeeded in taking them prisoners. The Regent was committed to Wormiston, a man of high honour, and deservedly held in estimation by the good of all factions, while Morton was guarded by Buccleuch. Hitherto every step had been taken with the greatest caution and dexterity; the most illustrious of the King's nobles were deprived of their liberty; and the horses belonging to them having been previously removed from the town, their followers had no means of pursuing the successful detachment. But, at the moment when the scheme appeared to be effectuated, it was, by the tumultuous conduct of some who were employed in it, rendered abortive. Eager for plunder, the noise which they occasioned reached the Earl of Marr, who, sallying from the castle with a small but chosen band, and taking shelter in a house which he was erecting, opened a severe fire upon the assailants, and drove them to the extremity of the town. The inhabitants during this attack rallied, —they joined the intrepid band who had so honourably displayed their valour,—and, pressing upon the enemy, they compelled them to relinquish their prisoners, and, under the utmost alarm for their safety, to precipitate their retreat. Calder, probably irritated by the unexpected failure of the enter-

CHAP. II. 1571.

CHAP. II. 1571.

prize in which he had engaged, determined to fire at the Regent; and, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of Wormiston, who scrupulously guarded Lennox, he inflicted upon that nobleman a mortal wound; and, according to some historians, at the same time slew the unfortunate Wormiston. It is, however, more probable that this amiable man fell a sacrifice to the fury of the Regent's friends. When they heard the dismal exclamation by which Lennox intimated that he was fatally wounded, they could not be restrained; and although he entreated that Wormiston might be saved, they rushed on and dispatched him. The Regent was immediately conveyed to the castle, and sensible, from the anguish which he experienced, that he was rapidly approaching to dissolution, he called the nobles, and, in the most fervent and impressive manner, recommended the young King his grandson, to the protection of the Almighty, and to the loyalty of his subjects; imploring those who heard him to continue faithful to their sovereign, and to choose for Regent some person fearing God, and devoted to James. With the most affecting condescension, he requested that favour might be shewn to his dependants; and, having solicited that his last expressions of tenderness might be conveyed to his wife whom he warmly loved, he with the most fervent piety and implicit resignation committed his soul to the mercy of his Creator. *

* Buchanan, p. 406, 407. Spottiswoode, p. 256, 257. Camden's

CHAP. II.

1571. Sept. Character of Lennox.

It was the happiness of the Earl of Lennox, during a period of the most inveterate faction, to conduct himself in an office which one party beheld with indignation, so as to gain the esteem of all classes of men. Educated in the dissolute court of France, and peculiarly honoured in his youth by the countenance of the fascinating but licentious Francis I., it cannot be supposed that sentiments of religion then forcibly influenced him; and, driven from his native country shocked with the ingratitude of those who had invited him to visit it, he was protected by Henry, and spent the great part of his life as a subject of England. When he was elected Regent, every art was used to impress upon the people that he would surrender to Elizabeth the honour and independence of his country; but he soon shewed that he had the noble feelings of a genuine patriot. He earnestly sought to heal the public dissensions, which he deplored, and even they whom he could not direct, venerated the purity of his intentions, and the ardour of his zeal for the happiness of Scotland. Bound to the English Queen by ties of gratitude, and placed in a situation where her will

Annals, p. 203, 304. These writers mention that Calder killed Wormiston when he wounded the Regent. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 114. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 97, 100. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 204, —209. In these works, Wormiston is represented as slain by the adherents of the Regent, notwithstanding his earnest solicitations; and Bannatyne in his Journal seems to lean to this statement; p. 255, 256. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 285, 286.

CHAP. II. 1571.

was almost a law, he occasionally with firmness opposed her schemes, and, even when he yielded to them, he did not conceal his disapprobation. In the course of his residence in Britain, his attention was directed to religion, and he was led to embrace those views of it which the Reformation had disclosed. The opinions which he formed regulated his life, and they imparted to him serenity and peace on the bed of death. The most violent of his enemies join with his friends in bearing testimony to his piety, and to the tranquillity with which, in expectation of eternal blessedness, he left this transitory world. The efforts of such a man would probably soon have been decidedly instrumental in uniting his countrymen; and it was believed that he would have succeeded in making the kingdom happy. Under this conviction, the people mourned over his fate, and they recollected with horror, and with anguish, the parliament which his death had interrupted. *

Remarks upon the enterprise.

The enterprise which terminated in the manner which has been described, was wisely planned; and had they who were employed to carry it into execution acted agreeably to their instructions, it would certainly have given to the Queen's faction, at least for some time, the superiority over their

* Spottiswoode, p. 257. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 110, and 114. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 257. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 99. The writer of this work mentions that the Parliament was by the vulgar people worthily called the Black Parliament. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 209. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 16.

enemies. Kircaldy's object, if we may credit one of his confidential friends, was to bring all the leaders of the King's party to the castle, and to compel them to accede to an agreement. Accordingly he was desirous, in person, to conduct the expedition, and when he was dissuaded from this, he entreated those to whom it was entrusted accurately to follow his directions, one of which was to abstain from slaughter. The result of it filled him with sorrow and despair. When he was informed of the Regent's death, he displayed the strongest agitation, and declared, that if he knew who had done that foul deed, or ordered it to be done, his own hand would revenge it. The foundation of his hopes was indeed destroyed. He believed that the Earl of Lennox was desirous to restore peace, and that, by being brought to the castle, he would be taken from those who prevented him from regulating his conduct by this desire. In his dissolution, he saw new evils to Scotland, with an aggravation of all the calamities which he had so recently hoped to avert; and his apprehensions were soon realized, for the death of the Regent heightened the antipathy with which the Queen's adherents were regarded, and gave an impulse to the resolution to oppose them, the effects of which were long felt and lamented.*

1571.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 113, 114. Spottiswoode, p. 2[illegible]. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 112[illegible]. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 207.

CHAPTER THIRD.

Election of a Regent....Ecclesiastical Affairs... Petition to the Regent....Letter of Knox to the General Assembly....Deputation of the Assembly to Parliament.... Act of Parliament respecting the patrimony of the Church....Patriotic conduct of the Ministers....Ferocity of Manners....Views of the Regent....New Ecclesiastical Arrangements....Views with respect to these, of the Government....Of the Nobility....Of the Ministers.... Assembly or Convention at Leith....Its proceedings.... Remarks upon the scheme of polity which it framed.... The scheme sanctioned by the General Assembly....Sentiments of Knox....Scheme of polity carried into execution....Distracted State of Scotland....An abstinence from hostilities....Knox returns to Edinburgh....His bodily infirmity....Massacre of St Bartholomew....Anxiety of the Regent to conciliate parties....His death and character....Illness, death, and character of Knox.

CHAP. III.

1571. Sept. 5. Election of a Regent.

THE lords lost no time in obeying the last injunction of the Earl of Lennox, for they immediately proceeded to the election of a Regent. There cannot be a stronger proof of the conviction entertained, that the Earl of Argyll was now firmly decided in his resolution to support the King, than that he was joined with the Earls of Marr and Morton as a candidate for the highest and most important office which the followers of James could confer; but the amiable character of Marr, his at-

tachment to his country, and gratitude for the service which he had so lately performed, procured for him the warm approbation of the nobility, and he was unanimously called to assume the reins of government. * CHAP. III. 1571.

Having declared his acceptance of the Regency, an act of parliament was passed, ratifying his election, conferring on him the powers with which other Regents had been invested, and confirming the freedom of the Protestant church, as it then existed. † Sept. 6.

The public attention, however, was, during this parliament, much directed towards various important matters connected with the ecclesiastical state of the country. Ecclesiastical affairs.

Although the reformers overturned the ancient government of the church, and substituted a new system, they never lost sight of the patrimony of the former establishment, but took every opportunity of urging their claim that it should be restored. This restoration, as has been already observed, was one of the conditions stipulated to gain their countenance to the scheme for raising James to the throne; but, from the peculiar circumstan-

* Buchanan, p. 406. Spottiswoode, p. 253. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 115. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 100. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 260. He says that Marr was elected by a plurality of votes. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 21.

† Murray of Glendook's Collection of Laws and Acts of Parliament, p. 193.

CHAP. III. 1571.

ces in which the Earl of Murray, upon his assumption of the Regency, was placed, the fulfilment of it he was obliged to defer. The ministers soon perceived that there was no intention in the most powerful of the King's party to comply with their earnest solicitations for the revenues of which they had been deprived. Even the moderate allowances which had been granted to them were reluctantly paid; and they daily saw what they esteemed the property of their order, bestowed upon the laity, or upon men who performed no part of the duties which the reception of the benefices should have led them to discharge.

Petition to the Regent.

Dreading that the evil under which they severely suffered would increase, and that the very existence of the Protestant establishment would be sacrificed to the avarice of the nobles, many who were interested in preserving the advantages which had resulted from the Reformation, determined freely to express their sentiments, and to take the best method for procuring an effectual and a decently supported ministry. To impress upon the Regent and the council the importance of this object, several of the barons, gentlemen, and other Protestants, did not join their countrymen at Leith in supporting the government; and they addressed to the Regent an apology for their conduct, in which they delineated very strikingly the wretched situation to which the clergy and the church had been reduced. They stated, that, anxious as

they were to adhere to the King, they could not, in conscience unite with the professed enemies of the gospel; by which appellation they did not mean those who violently prevented its being preached, but such as directly and indirectly undermined the influence of its ministers. Of this they said that they could not exculpate the Regent's government; for what could be conceived a more ready way to banish Christ Jesus from amongst them and from their posterity, than to famish the ministers, tyrannically to rule over the flock, and to admit dumb-dogs, so they expressed themselves, to the office and emoluments of efficient pastors. Touching the condition of the ministers, they represented, that it was more miserable than that even of objects of charity, the pastors being bound to their charge, and compelled, with dolorous hearts, to see their wives, children, and family, starve for hunger. With regard to the second part of their complaint, they observed, "Your government and the nobility go about to cut off from our posterity the fountain of living waters, the true and free preaching of the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ; for, while earls and lords become bishops and abbots, gentlemen, courtiers, babes, and persons unable to guide themselves, are promoted to such benefices as require learned preachers." *

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. [illegible] Bannatyne'

CHAP. III.

1571. Letter of Knox to the General Assembly. August.

A cause so interesting was not overlooked by Knox, during his residence at St Andrews. Feeling the rapid increase of bodily weakness, and apprehending that he would never again be able to take an active part in public life, he addressed to the General Assembly, which met at Stirling a few days before the Parliament, a letter, in which, with his usual energy of expression, rendered more impressive by his melancholy anticipation that he was discharging one of the last duties which he would ever perform to the church, he pointed out to his brethren the difficulties with which they had to struggle, and the necessity, in order to surmount them, of that unshrinking fortitude, of which his own conduct had uniformly displayed a brilliant example. After alluding to the same grounds of complaint which had been exhibited to the Regent, and referring to the calumnies which had been circulated against himself, he thus proceeded. "And now, brethren, because the daily decay of natural strength threatens unto me certain and sudden departing from the misery of this life, of love and conscience I exhort you, yea in the fear of God I charge and command you, that ye take heed to yourselves, and to the flock over which God hath placed you pastors. To discourse of the behaviour

Journal, p. 250—253, where the paper is inserted at full length. It is entitled, "The gentlemen, barons, and other Protestants to the Regent's grace, wishes to him and his honourable councill all felicitie, with the spirit of righteous judgment."

of yourselves I may not, but to command you to be faithful to the flock I dare not cease. Unfaithful and traitors to the flock shall you be before the Lord Jesus, if that with your consent, directly or indirectly, you suffer unworthy men to be thrust into the ministry of the church, under what pretence soever it be. Remember the Judge before whom ye must make account, and resist that tyranny as ye would avoid hell fire. This battle I grant will be hard; but in the second point it will be harder, that is, that with the like uprightness and strength in God ye gainstand the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the church. If men will spoil, let them do it to their own peril and condemnation, but communicate not ye with their sins, of what estate soever they be, neither by consent nor yet by silence; but with public protestation make this known to the world that ye are innocent of such robbery, which will, or it be long, provoke God's vengeance upon the committers thereof, whereof ye will seek redress of God and man. God give you wisdom and stout courage in so just a cause, and me a happy end."*

* Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 124. This letter is dated from St Andrews, 3d of August 1571, and is subscribed, your brother in Christ Jesus, Knox, the J and K being run together. Spottiswoode, p. 257—258, has, with some variations, copied this letter, giving it the erroneous date of 15th of August. Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 533, has also inserted the letter, prefixing to it this candid remark: "In it are some passages not unbecom-

CHAP. III.

1571. Deputation from the Assembly to parliament.

The General Assembly could not be indifferent to what so nearly affected themselves, and had produced such a sensation amongst those by whom the ministers were revered. They accordingly appointed the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, John Row, and several of the most respectable of the clergy, to wait upon the Regent with his council, and upon the parliament, and earnestly to request, in name of the church, the granting of such articles, and the redress of such complaints as should be given to them, this being done in conformity with the instructions with which the commissioners were furnished. The deputation did accordingly obtain access to the parliament, and presented several petitions for reformation of manners and the removal of their grievances. They requested that all benefices should be given to qualified persons, the qualifications being ascertained by the church, and that manses and glebes should be set apart for the use of those who preached the word. It is probable that the commissioners were enjoined to make some more specific proposal with regard to the restoration of the ecclesiastical patrimony; for Row, in the sermon which he preached during the parliament, expatiated upon the avarice of the lords, and, in the bold style which Knox was accustomed to use, not only expressed his disapprobation of

ing a person of integrity and courage." Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 199—200.

their conduct, but denounced against them the judgments of God, if they persisted in their enmity to the rights of the church. *

The Earl of Lennox was decidedly favourable to the claims of the ministers, and he was resolved to support them; but the Earl of Morton, who had largely shared in the plunder of the church, and whose covetousness anticipated new acquisitions, used his powerful influence in defeating them. † He employed the most contemptuous language when he spoke of the efforts of the clergy. In this he was imitated by the greater part of the lords who had views similar to his own; and, notwithstanding the wishes of the Regent, he succeeded in determining parliament to pay to the forcible representations which the commissioners of the Assembly addressed to it, no attention. ‡

September.

Act of parliament respecting ecclesiastical property.

The unhappy fate of Lennox threw every thing into confusion, and no steps were, after this event, taken by parliament to satisfy the clergy; but, eagerly intent upon their own interest, the members of the estates passed an act, striking a fatal blow at the pretensions of the church, and establishing, with

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 121, 125. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 257 and 259. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 284. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 21.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 110.

‡ Bannatyne's Journal, p. 254. Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 48. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 21.

CHAP. III. 1571.

respect to it, the most dangerous precedent. Although the nobles, and other distinguished men in the kingdom, had, during the troubles connected with the introduction of the Reformation, got into their possession much of the property which the piety of their ancestors had consecrated to the purposes of religion, the acquisition was considered merely as the consequence of power, and as conferring no legal right. * But the Earl of Morton, and those who acquiesced in his sentiments, determined to avail themselves of the influence which they possessed, and to wrest finally from the church this large part of her ancient endowment. At their suggestion, accordingly, it was enacted, that the lands and heritable possessions which many of the lieges held by feu, or any other way, of priors and superiors of convents, should henceforth be held of the crown, the duties being paid to the Sovereign. This statute was founded upon the plea, that, since the Reformation most of the superiors had died, and that, as successors were not to be appointed, no title could be given, except by a new provision of the legislature, to the occupiers of the lands specified in the act. †

* For information respecting the property of the church, and its fate during the struggles made for religious freedom, the reader is referred to the History of the Reformation in Scotland, in which this subject is repeatedly introduced.

† Collection of Acts of Parliament, by Murray of Glendook, p. 194. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, &c. p. 181, 182. The

This act could not fail to agitate and alarm the clergy. It converted into secular property that which had been confessedly ecclesiastical, and it plainly shewed, that, upon similar ground, the whole patrimony of the church might be immutably conveyed to the laity. The conviction that the principle of it would be extended, had accordingly, as it will soon appear, a very great effect in producing, or rather in strengthening, the determination to revise the form of ecclesiastical polity, and to introduce some very important changes.

Patriotic conduct of the ministers.

It is impossible not to be struck with the want of political wisdom so clearly manifested in the manner in which the ministers were insulted, and in their being reduced to the lowest poverty. It was almost solely by their efforts, or by their influence, that the government of James had been established. Had they not given a new direction to popular opinion, Scotland would have been at this period buried in the darkness of superstition, and would have

able writer of this work labours to prove, that the knowledge that this act was to be sanctioned, occasioned the exertions of the Assembly respecting the patrimony of the church. The circumstance of the Assembly meeting before the parliament, seeming to be inconsistent with this idea, he endeavours to shew, from the nature and constitution of the Scotish parliaments, that the acts which were to be passed might be known a considerable time previous to their meeting. He displays much ingenuity in establishing this point; but it appears to me, that the avowed sentiments of the lords, relating to the patrimony of the church, were quite adequate to produce the anxiety which the clergy felt, and to stimulate them to take the steps to which they had recourse.

CHAP. III. 1571.

passively worn the fetters with which it had been for ages shackled. The esteem in which they had been held by the great body of the people was not decreased,—they were still revered; and had they been disposed to thwart those who were vested with power, they might have involved them in much perplexity, or driven them from the situations which they had acquired. It certainly evinces the patriotism of the clergy, that, under severe privations, they steadily adhered to their loyalty; that, while they complained of injury, they strengthened the administration of those by whom they were injured, convinced that the happiness of the nation and the restoration of tranquillity would thus be most effectually promoted, and that they never for a moment listened to the solicitations of the lords who had associated in defence of the Queen, although these lords professed the most fervent zeal for the Protestant faith, and would, from their peculiar circumstances, have granted any concessions which would have induced the ministers to rank under the standard of Mary. It may from this be fairly concluded, that the opposition which they made during the reign of that Princess did not proceed from motives of interest or of ambition, or from principles inimical to the existence of monarchy; but, as they often declared, from the firm persuasion that the religion which they had suffered so much to establish was in danger, and that it was necessary to place on the throne a monarch of the

reformed faith, in order to secure the civil and religious liberty of Scotland.

1571. Ferocity of manners.

The unhappy dissensions which agitated the kingdom, produced the melancholy consequences that invariably result from civil war; for not only were industry interrupted, and the progress of agriculture and of commerce checked, but the worst passions of human nature were called into exercise, and gave a ferocity to the character, which even the beneficent influence of Christianity was unable to soften or to subdue. The constant skirmishes which took place in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, between men, not only of the same country, but united by the most tender ties, must often have given rise to scenes of violence and of cruelty which sincere patriotism beheld with melancholy and abhorrence; but it was in the remote parts of Scotland, where the feudal spirit had never been effectually restrained, that there were exhibited a barbarity and a disregard to every amiable feeling, which cannot be recorded without the strongest detestation. Adam Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly, and who acted under the Earl in promoting the cause of Mary, took advantage of his trust to commit many outrages, and to gratify his private resentment or antipathy. In his neighbourhood, Arthur Forbes, brother of Lord Forbes, and a man distinguished by prudence and courage, was disposed to adhere to James, but most benevolently devoted his efforts to conciliate those of his own name, who had differed

CHAP. III.

1571.

upon the political questions then so vehemently agitated. Gordon wished to prevent this, dreading the consequences which might result from it, and, having come with some forces to the place where Forbes had assembled the adherents of the family, he attacked them, slew Forbes at the commencement of the battle, and, after considerable slaughter, compelled the Forbesses to seek safety in flight. But, dishonourable and inhuman as this atrocity was, it did not satisfy the ferocious disposition of Gordon, for, to satiate his malignity, or to spread consternation amongst the unhappy men who had survived the death of their leader, he summoned the castle of another Forbes; and upon the lady, in the absence of her husband, refusing to surrender, he set fire to the building, and consumed, in its ashes, this estimable woman, advanced in pregnancy, with her children and servants, to the number of twenty-seven. Savage as the age was, the account of this dreadful enormity filled the minds of men with horror, and Gordon was from that time held in deserved detestation. *

Views of the Regent.

The lamentable state of Scotland, suffering from the contests of its own people, and the conviction that Elizabeth was beholding, with secret satisfac-

* Buchanan, p. 407, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 259. Crawford, in his Memoirs, p. 213, 214, feebly attempts to soften this enormity, whilst the author of the MS. Hist. of James VI., whose sentiments Crawford should have exhibited, speaks of it with the feelings of humanity.

CHAP. III.

1571.

tion, the ruin of this ancient kingdom, whilst Randolph, her confidential agent, was increasing the evil which he professed himself anxious to remove, filled the virtuous and patriotic breast of the Regent with the deepest anguish; and, amidst all the efforts which he found himself compelled to make against the lords in the castle and the Queen's faction, which, in some parts of the country, was gaining strength, and ruling with the sternest despotism, he was earnestly desirous that the door of reconciliation should be kept open, and employed every method to induce Grange to enter into his views of healing the wounds of the nation. *

New ecclesiastical arrangements.

But the state of the church, no less than that of the nation, occupied his mind, and inspired him with a wish to make some new arrangements, by which the clergy should be relieved from the hardships under which they mourned, and be led by interest, as well as by duty, to act cordially with the government administered in name of the King. In procuring a modification of the ecclesiastical constitution he was successful; and as this measure produced a great change in the state of the Church, it will be proper to unfold the views of the different classes of persons who united in accomplishing it, and to develope the causes to which it owed its existence.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 115—117. For the severity shewn to the ministers by the Queen's faction, see Bannatyne's Journal, p. 306—308.

CHAP. III.

1571. Nov.

The discontent excited amongst the ministers, by some of the measures adopted by the last Parliament, was increased by the continued pressure of poverty, and by a declaration publicly made, in name of the Regent, that the collectors whom the church had appointed for receiving the thirds allotted to the clergy should cease to act. This order rested upon the pretence that the stipends of the ministers had not been regularly paid, and that the King's proportion of the thirds had been withheld; but it was generally imagined that the measure originated from the Earl of Morton, whose indignation had been raised by the collectors for the church preventing some of his agents from obtaining the payment of certain duties which he had appropriated. * Erskine of Dun, the superintendent of Angus, and a remote connexion of the Regent, considered himself as called upon to remonstrate against this new attack upon the church;

10th Nov.

and he addressed a long and interesting letter to the Earl of Marr, in which he reasoned with much acuteness in defence of the claims of the church; and with great firmness disclosed the views of the clergy. After assuring the Regent, that, under the present circumstances of the country, there could be no hesitation in giving the share of the ecclesiastical revenues which had been set apart for he royal household, he insisted upon the pro-

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 26.

priety of the church having the sole judgment with regard to the qualifications of those who were presented to benefices; he stated, that the spiritual power should not be invaded by the magistrate; and that although it was the duty of the church to strengthen the civil authority which was founded on divine appointment, yet when the magistrate passed the bounds of his office, and entered within the sanctuary of the Lord, meddling with such things as appertained to the ministers of religion, the servants of God should withstand and resist, and would be unworthy of their character if they sacrificed this duty to the wish of conciliating the favour of princes by flattery and acquiescence. He added, that he did not mean, by these observations respecting the liberty of the church, to interfere with the right which the King or others had to the exercise of patronage, provided that examination and admission, in the case of all benefices having the cure of souls, pertained to the church. Having thus supported one of the claims which had been unsuccessfully presented to Parliament, he proceeded to speak of the motives by which the ministers were actuated in their zeal for the restoration of the ecclesiastical revenues. He said that they were not guided by avarice or ambition, but by the anxiety which they naturally felt to secure to the people the benefits of religious instruction; and, in proof of this, he adduced the fact, that, upon the vacancy of any great benefice having

CHAP. III. 1571.

CHAP. III. 1571. many churches attached to it, they had uniformly requested that the revenues should be divided amongst efficient pastors appointed to each of these churches; and he plainly stated, that, if the nobility had been equally free from avarice, the arrangements to which they had once consented, and which he now urged, would long ago have been completed. To shew, however, even still more unequivocally the disinterestedness of the clergy, he declared, that if, in the present emergency, the whole revenue could not be spared for religious purposes, they would most cheerfully concede to the government whatever remained, after providing for their decent support; because the church did not contend for worldly profit, "but for that spiritual liberty which God has given to it; without which being granted, the servants of God would not be satisfied, but would oppose themselves against all power and tyranny which presumed to deprive the church of its liberty, and would rather die than live under such miserable bondage." After intimating a suspicion that there existed amongst a great part of the nobility a spirit hostile to the church, the superintendent concluded by expressing his conviction, "that the Nov. 14. church would, under the protection of Heaven, be preserved secure against all the efforts made for its destruction." In another letter, Erskine earnestly requested that the order which had occasioned his correspondence with the Regent

should be recalled; and the Earl of Marr, convinced by his representations that the order was improper, with much candour wrote to him that he had given instructions for its being withdrawn. In the communication which signified this resolution, he took occasion to state his opinion that a change was necessary in the polity which had for some time subsisted. "The fault of the whole, he wrote, stands in this,—that the polity of the Church of Scotland is not perfect, nor has there been any solid conference amongst godly men of sound judgment and of good intentions as to what remedy should be provided." *

Views of the government in promoting a change of ecclesiastical polity.

All parties were satisfied that there was much truth in the suggestion of the Regent, and that it was requisite for the good of the church, and for the welfare of the state, that some negotiation upon this interesting subject should soon be opened.

From a very early period in the history of Scotland, the clerical order had formed one of the estates in Parliament. The bishops and other dignified clergy were regularly summoned to that high Assembly, and their consent was necessary to give stability and force to the laws and constitutions of the kingdom. At the Reformation it was esteemed

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 295—299. The correspondence is also inserted at full length in Bannatyne's Journal, p. 278—293.; in Wodrow's MS. Vol. I. folio, p. 21—26, and 27—29, and a summary of it is given in Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 48, 49. Scott's Lives of the Scotish Reformers, p. 16.

CHAP. III. 1571.

dangerous to make any great innovation upon the political constitution then existing; and although the Roman Catholic bishops were prohibited from teaching, and were, in fact, deprived of the right to exercise their clerical functions, they were permitted to retain the privilege of sitting in Parliament, and many of them regularly attended its deliberations. In progress of time several of them died, and as there was no possibility of continuing the succession, the sees remained permanently vacant, and there was a near prospect of the total extinction of the spiritual branch of the legislature. The persons who successively administered the government of James, contemplated with much anxiety and alarm an event which might be attended with consequences fatal to the throne of their Sovereign; they dreaded that if, under the reign of a minor, one of the estates ceased to exist, their proceedings might be afterwards declared to be illegal; and the whole of those interesting regulations by which the liberty and the religion of the great mass of the people were intended to be secured, might be set aside. *

To guard against this, the Parliament which had lately assembled at Stirling took a very strong, and to the church a very obnoxious step. They called

* Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 193, 194, where many points connected with the change in ecclesiastical polity are ably stated. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 534.

upon certain of the Protestant clergy to vote as the successors of the deceased prelates, and appointed nominal bishops to the vacant sees, who were to attend the meetings of the estates. * As this measure was adopted, not only without the concurrence of the church, but in express opposition to it, much dissatisfaction was excited. It was considered as a virtual annihilation of the powers of the clergy, and it gave occasion to a considerable part of Erskine's letter to the Regent. He with much energy said, "I cannot but lament from my very heart that great disorder introduced by the last Parliament at Stirling, in creating bishops, and giving them vote in Parliament as bishops, in despite of the church and contempt of God, having the church opposing itself to that abuse." The measure indeed was so plainly subversive of ecclesiastical right, that a determination to persist in it might have renewed the calamities of a religious war, and might have led the ministers to desert the cause of the reigning sovereign; and therefore the Regent, with his council, saw the propriety or necessity of making such arrangements as would complete the constitution of Parliament, without infringing upon the privileges belonging to an order of men, of whose talents he was fully convinced, and whom it was so manifestly dangerous to drive to despair.

CHAP. III. 1571.

* Letter of Erskine of Dun, as before quoted; but see particularly Calderwood's History, p. 48, and Bannatyne's Journal, p. 285.

CHAP. III.

1571

Views of the nobility.

More interested motives swayed a number of the nobility, and rendered them eager for new modelling the ecclesiastical polity. The Earl of Morton had succeeded in obtaining from the Regent the ample revenues which had been enjoyed by the archbishops of St Andrews, and many of his order anticipated similar grants. This gift, however, it was evident, was illegal. The patrimony of the see could in no sense be considered as having been forfeited; and it was apparent that if, from any change of affairs, episcopacy should be restored, the prelates would have an undoubted claim, not only to recover the annual rents of the benefice, but to prosecute those by whom the revenue had, without the authority of a regular Parliament, been appropriated. To guard against this, the most effectual expedient seemed to be to restore the order of bishops; to appropriate, with their concurrence, a certain part of the original patrimony to each of the sees, and to convey, by a formal statute, the remainder to the nobility by whom it had been seized. In this way, the best possible right that, in the circumstances of the case, could exist, would be created; and, what probably had still more force, it was not unnaturally imagined, that, if the bishops were satisfied with what was assigned to them, no new investigation into the state of ecclesiastical wealth would be instituted, but the church would, in all time coming, be considered as having received an ample provision, and as having abandoned its

claim to the immense possessions of the popish hierarchy. * To these mercenary considerations, on the part of the nobility, the zealous ministers ascribed the change of polity which soon was introduced, and a contemptuous appellation, originating from this opinion, was applied to the bishops who were first appointed. † CHAP. III. 1571.

The clergy were, upon different grounds, equally desirous with the nobles, that there should be some modification of the form of church government. The original form, admirable as it in many respects was, had never been universally acceptable. Deviating very far from what had long been the general sentiments with regard to ecclesiastical polity, there were not wanting some who wished that it should be calmly revised, and the expediency of such a revisal was increased by the opposition which the council had uniformly made to a great part of the first book of discipline. But the chief objection to the scheme proposed in that book, arose from the Views of the ministers.

* Melvil, in his Memoirs, p. 107—110, and 118, details at some length, and with considerable interest, the manner in which Morton got possession of the revenue which had belonged to the archbishops of St Andrews.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 310, and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 58. Life of Knox, prefixed to his History, p. 33. The bishops were denominated Tulchane bishops, in allusion to a practice which prevailed in Scotland, of stuffing a calf's skin with straw, and presenting it to a cow to induce her to give milk. The stuffed figure was called a tulchane. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 15, and Vol. VI. p. 201.

CHAP. III. 1571.

conviction that it presented the most formidable obstacles to the comfort and the independence which the ministers were naturally anxious to secure. The poverty which shackled their efforts and harassed their feelings, far from being removed, continued to press upon them with unabated severity; and venerable as were the superintendents, no hope could be entertained that men, struggling with want, would be willing to succeed to an office which required the most arduous exertion, and was attended with expence, which could be defrayed only from the private fortunes of those by whom it was filled. There was even some reason for apprehending that the little which they had hitherto received would be diminished or taken away. If the possessions of convents, and of the different orders of the regular clergy, had been vested in the crown, because these convents and these orders no longer existed, the same argument might be urged with equal force for assigning to the laity the revenues of the prelates under the Popish establishment; for as they had not been succeeded by men vested with the episcopal character, there were none entitled to what had been appropriated to the bishops of the Romish communion.

There was another consideration which also had great weight with the Protestant clergy. It was impossible for them not to be sensible how important it was to their interest to be represented in Parliament. Without this they could not direct-

ly influence the decisions of that Assembly, and in the unsettled state of the church, measures in the highest degree prejudicial to its welfare might be adopted. From these causes, although they were sensible that the lords entertained views not favourable to a liberal provision for the ministers, they were anxious that the expediency of introducing a new system of polity should be maturely weighed, trusting that the independence of the clergy would thus be secured, and that they might rely upon the representatives of their own order obtaining enough to remove the apprehension or the experience of pecuniary embarrassment. *

All parties being this united as to the propriety of revising the government of the church, the Regent consented to the request of the clergy, that the points respecting their jurisdiction and maintenance should be settled; and, in consequence of his injunction, the superintendent of Angus wrote to the superintendents and commissioners of the

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 15. Spottiswoode, p. 5—258. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 195—198. The ingenious author of this work, in his attempt to shew that the arrangement introducing episcopacy was not adopted from the nobles wishing to appropriate, in consequence of grants from the bishops, a large part of the ecclesiastical revenues, has asked, "Would it not have been easier for the lords to take these revenues when there were no bishops?" He has himself furnished the answer to this: "The lords thought it expedient that the ecclesiastical state should sit in Parliament, and therefore were eager to restore bishops, that their acts might be valid."

CHAP. III.

church to assemble for making regulations about provision of the King's household out of the thirds, and to consult upon some matters connected with ecclesiastical polity and conferring of benefices. *

1572.

Assembly or convention at Leith. 12th Jan.

Upon the 12th of January a convention met at Leith, which was attended by the superintendents, barons, commissioners for planting churches, commissioners of provinces and towns, and ministers. After having resolved to continue the moderator of the former Assembly, they unanimously, in order to prevent all doubt about the nature and authority of the meeting, ordained that the present convention should have all the strength, force, and effect, of a General Assembly, and might decide all points usually determined in the supreme judicatory, enjoining, however, those of the members who had it in their power, to repair to the next ordinary Assembly, which had been appointed to meet at St Andrews in March. In the third session, the account of which is not inserted in the register, full power was given to the superintendents of Angus and Fife, accompanied by Craig and other three of the most respectable and eminent of the ministers, to meet with a deputation from the Regent and council for settling the polity of the church. They were accordingly met by the Earl of Morton, chancellor, Lord Ruthven, treasurer, the Abbot of Dunfermline, secretary, James Macgill, keeper of the

Its proceedings.

* Spottiswoode, p. 258, compared with Calderwood, p. 49

rolls, Sir John Ballenden, justice-clerk, and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. After several meetings, and long deliberation, the following regulations were approved: CHAP. III. 1572.

"It is thought good, in consideration of the present state, 1. That the names and titles of the archbishops and bishops be not altered, or the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but that they continue, in time coming, as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the King's Majesty's majority, or consent of parliament. 2. That the archbishoprics and bishoprics vacant should be conferred on men endowed, as far as may be, with the qualities specified in the examples of Paul to Timothy and Titus. 3. That, to all archbishoprics and bishoprics that should become vacant qualified persons should be presented within a year and day after the vacancy took place, and those nominated to be thirty years of age at the least. 4. That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses. 5. That abbots, priors, and inferior prelates, presented to benefices, should be tried as to their qualification and their aptness to give voice in parliament by the bishop or superintendent of the bounds, and upon their collation should be admitted to the benefice, but not otherwise. 6. That the elections of persons presented to bishoprics should be made by the chapters of the cathedral churches; and because the chapters of divers churches were possessed by men provided before his Majes-

CHAP. III.

1572. ty's coronation, who bore no office in the church, that a particular nomination of ministers should be made in every diocese, to supply their rooms until the benefice should fall void. 7. That all benefices with cure under prelacies, should be conferred on actual ministers, and on no others. 8. That ministers should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, and, where no bishop was as yet placed, from the superintendent of the bounds. 9. That the bishops and superintendents, at the ordination of

January. ministers, should exact of them an oath for acknowledging his Majesty's authority, and for obedience to their ordinary in all things."

In addition to these regulations there were several others of much importance, ascertaining the nature and extent of the powers with which the bishops were to be invested. It was agreed that all archbishops and bishops hereafter to be admitted, should exercise no farther jurisdiction in spiritual function than the superintendents exercised; that they were to be subject to the church in spiritual matters, as to the king in those that were temporal; and that they should consult some of the most learned of the chapter, not fewer than six, with regard to the admission of such as were to have function in the church. *

* A very full account of all the proceedings in the convention is given by Calderwood, in his MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 305—325. This I have compared with Spottiswoode, p. 260, and Calderwood's Hist. p. 50, 55. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 125. It is remarkable,

CHAP. III. 1572.

A number of regulations were also proposed for the maintenance of the clergy, and for ascertaining the principles of those admitted to the ministry. It was agreed that no disposition should take place of any abbacy vacant at the time of the negociation, or which afterwards should become vacant, till inquiry had been made what part of the revenue consisted of tithes, and what of temporal lands, that, with the advice of the bishop or superintendent within whose province the abbey or priory lay, provision should be secured for the decent support of the ministers who officiated in the churches, and that it should be paid in terms of a special assignation. What remained after this had been done, it was thought proper to give to him who had the title of abbot, prior or commendator, whose duty it was to represent the ecclesiastical state in parliament. These titular priors and abbots were to be promoted to seats in the College of Justice, or were to be employed by the King in the affairs of the common-

that in this book no mention is made of the interesting negociation respecting the polity of the church, although the meeting of the Assembly, and the preliminary steps above recorded are detailed. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 29—32, 37, 38, and Appendix N. to the Life of Erskine of Dun, in Vol. III. quarto. It will be proper to consult Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 533; Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 207, 208; Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 185, 186,—to see how far the account of zealous episcopal writers agrees with the authentic accounts to which reference has been made in the beginning of this note. See also the Life of Knox, prefixed to his History, p. 33.

CHAP. III.

wealth, it being however secured, that no church connected with their benefice should be destitute of

1572. a minister. With respect to residence, so obviously implied in the institution of a ministry, and so essential for accomplishing the great purposes of moral and religious instruction, it was resolved, that no one engaged in the pastoral office should be absent from his benefice above forty days in the year, without permission from the King, or unless he had some lawful impediment. That the advantages resulting from such continued instruction might not be limited to particular districts, it was agreed that qualified ministers should be settled throughout the kingdom, and that they should be assisted by readers, who, having been approved by the bishop or superintendent, were to be authorised to dispense the sacrament of baptism and to marry. It was most wisely determined that none should be admitted to a plurality of benefices with cure, and that the political and religious sentiments of the ministers might be placed beyond a doubt, all who were presented to livings were to be required, in presence of the bishop or superintendent, to subscribe the articles of religion, or the confession of faith and doctrines of the sacraments contained in the acts of the

Feb. 1. first parliament of James, and to swear that they acknowledged the King's authority. These articles, after they had been approved by the deputation from the church and the government, were submitted to

CHAP. III.

the Regent, who, in name of his Sovereign, gave to them his approbation. *

1572.

Such were the leading principles of that ecclesiastical polity which was intended to be introduced. It differed, in several essential respects, from the scheme in the First Book of Discipline, restoring episcopacy, and recognizing titles and offices which the reformers had at first considered it as wise to abolish. † Yet this episcopacy was rested on the same foundation which had been previously laid, for it received the sanction of those to whom it was submitted, not from its being expressly prescribed by the word of God, but from its being calculated, in the peculiar situation of the Church of Scotland, to give vigour and efficacy to religious instruction, and to secure all the important objects which an ecclesiastical establishment is designed to promote. This principle, assumed in the First Book of Discipline, and indeed naturally suggested by the very attempt to reform the church, was, about this period, urged with much force in England against the Puritans, who contended that Scripture had marked out the precise constitution of every Christian society. ‡ Had the restoration of prelacy taken place

Remarks upon this scheme of polity.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, as last quoted.

† Row, in his MS. Hist. of the Estate of the Kirke of Scotland, p. 13, mentions, that the name of Bishop was by the framers of the Booke of Discipline purposely avoided.

‡ Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 259. Archbishop

CHAP. III. 1572.

in Scotland in consequence of the persuasion that it was essential to the purity or the existence of a Christian church, there would have been a complete revolution, and the superintendents, who had occupied the place which the bishops should have possessed, would have been removed or prevented from exercising the powers with which they had been

Whitgift, in his controversy with Cartwright, the great champion of the Puritans, laya down this position, "That, although the Holy Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as a standard of church-discipline or government, but that this was changeable, and might be accommodated to the civil government we live under; that the apostolical government was adapted to the church in its infancy, and under persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the church grew to maturity, and had the civil magistrate upon its side." Upon this principle the primate defended the church of England against its enemies, endeavouring to shew that its constitution was, under all circumstances, the best which could at that period be adopted. Cartwright, on the other hand, maintained, "that the holy Scriptures were not only a standard of doctrine, but of discipline and government, and that the church of Christ was in these respects, to be regulated by them through all ages." On this principle he cast out of view all ideas of expediency, and endeavoured to prove that the model which he pointed out was prescribed by the inspired writers. It is amusing to mark the change of sentiment which has now taken place. The advocates for the church of England, abandoning the ground of Whitgift, have occupied that of the Puritans in the days of Elizabeth, and upon it rest their defence of Episcopacy, as essential to the constitution of a Christian church, whilst the dissenters have taken the maxim of the primate, and direct it against the hierarchy. This historical fact should tend to moderate the vehemence with which such disputes have sometimes been conducted, and bring us to this interesting truth, that purity of faith and manners is the essence of a true church, and may be found under different forms of ecclesiastical polity.

invested. The perusal of the articles which have been detailed, shews clearly that this was not the case; for, wherever there were superintendents, they were placed upon exactly the same footing as the prelates, and the sentiments which were entertained upon this subject by the ministers are apparent from the letter of Erskine of Dun to the Regent, in which he wrote, "As to the question whether it be expedient that a superintendent should be where there was a qualified bishop, I understand that the office of a bishop and superintendent be the same, and consequently, that the superintendents which are placed ought to continue in their office whatever changes be introduced." *

The Episcopal polity which issued from the convention, appears to have been admirably calculated for securing an useful and efficient clergy. It established an excellent system of control; it enforced upon ministers the regular discharge of their pastoral duties; it assigned a peculiar province to all holding benefices,—allotted a moderate provision for their support and comfort,—whilst it subjected the highest dignitaries of the church to restraints which guarded against the indolence or the profligacy that had disgraced the bishops under the Popish establishment.

The proceedings of the convention at Leith were, as had been determined, reported to the As-

Sanctioned by the General Assembly.

* Bannatyne's Journal, p. 281, and Calderwood, p. 50, 51.

CHAP. III.

sembly, which, in a few weeks after, met at St Andrews; but it does not appear that any discussion respecting them then took place, it probably being considered as better to defer this till the next Assembly, which was to meet at Perth in the month of August. * There was indeed a committee appointed to meet in the house of Knox, for the purpose of reviewing the articles adopted by the commissioners, and of reporting what they found in them agreeable to the word of God, and the utility of the church, but no report was made, longer time being perhaps thought requisite for a careful examination. †

1572. March 6.

August 6. In the Assembly at Perth, the subject was resumed, and all the members were enjoined to consider the heads of the agreement at Leith, and to point out what they approved, and what they condemned. To the leading parts of the scheme, no objection seems to have been stated; but many apprehended that several of the titles introduced, bore too close a resemblance to the corrupt form which the hierarchy in the church of Rome had assumed. This was

* The proceedings of the St Andrews Assembly are recorded in the Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 12.—120. Although there be an allusion to the changes proposed by the Convention at Leith, there is no mention of any discussion respecting them, but the title of Archbishop was recognized. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 310. Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 311.

† Calderwood's Hist. p. 56. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 103. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 311. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 32, and Vol. VI. p. 201, 204.

urged in a protestation by those brethren to whom the revisal of the scheme had been committed; and to prevent all apprehensions, and all the evils which might result from associating the new polity with the superstitious usages of popery, the whole Assembly, including those who had conducted the conferences at Leith, solemnly declared, that, by using the titles, to which reference had been made, they did not intend to give any countenance to popery or superstition, but that they wished these titles to be changed. This, however, was not done, it being probably soon found that there was no occasion for the dread which had at first been excited. The Assembly may thus be considered as having confirmed episcopacy; but the way was kept open for additional, or even total changes, the members formally protesting that the articles agreed upon were received only "till farther and more perfect order might be obtained at the hands of the King's Majesty's Regent, and the nobility." *

CHAP. III.

1572. August.

The infirmities which now pressed upon Knox prevented him from attending the meeting of the Assembly, and from taking that active part in the

Sentiments of Knox.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 352—356. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 128, 129. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio p. 33—35. The author zealously endeavours to shew that the church was averse from episcopacy. See also Vol. I. p. 38. Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 57, 58. Spottiswoode, p. 260. With these may be compared Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 208, 209. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 539, and Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, &c. p. 205.

CHAP. III. 1572.

whole of this arrangement, which, in his better days, would have been allotted to him. He was, however, deeply interested by the projected changes in that form which he had devised and recommended, and he corresponded upon the subject with the foreign divines, whose opinions he reverenced, and from whom his own sentiments, as to the polity of the church, had in a considerable degree received their direction. A letter which Beza, one of the ablest divines at Geneva, wrote to him, in all likelihood with reference to the agreement at Leith, has been preserved, in which, after expressing his high opinion of the doctrine and discipline of the church of Scotland, he reminds Knox, that the papal supremacy had arisen out of episcopacy, and strenuously urges him never to give way to its readmission, however specious might be the arguments by which such a revolution was supported. * This advice was in perfect harmony with the intentions and wishes of Knox, and we shall soon find him acting in conformity to it; but he was afterwards satisfied that some innovation, similar to that which had been suggested, had become expe-

August 5. dient. He addressed to the Assembly at Perth a letter, in which he mentioned that he had commu-

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 344, 346. Row's History of the Estate of the Kirke of Scotland, p. 21, 22. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 538, 539. The substance of the letter is published in Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 57.

nicated his mind to the dear friends who would deliver his epistle; and then in his impressive strain of eloquence, he exhorted the ministers to fight for the truth, and for the liberty of the same, resting assured that they would triumph through Christ Jesus, to whose mighty protection he unfeignedly committed them. This fully shews his respect for the Assembly; and he sent with Winrame and Pont certain articles, all of them bearing the mark of his vigorous and comprehensive judgment, and containing those opinions relating to the church which he had uniformly avowed. In them, however, he assented to the change of polity, for he advised the assembly to petition the Regent that all vacant bishoprics might be filled with qualified persons, within a year after the vacancy had taken place, according, he adds, to the order taken at Leith; and he speaks of bishops lawfully elected, in conformity to that order. In the answer returned to him, the Assembly informed him that they found his articles both reasonable and godly. *

But although the church of Scotland must be considered as having at this time adopted episcopacy, and although that adoption proceeded upon

* The very interesting paper from which are taken the few extracts, shewing that Knox at length approved of the arrangements at Leith, is to be found in Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 355—361, and has been published in Bannatyne's Journal, p. 365—368. Wodrow's MSS. Life of Knox, Vol. VI. folio, of his Collections, p. 205—207.

CHAP. III. 1572.

grounds so rational and so conformable to the principles of the reformers, the zealous Presbyterians of after times looked back with regret to this part of the ecclesiastical history of their country, and endeavoured, very unnecessarily, and in express opposition to the language and the proceedings of the church, to represent the resolutions framed at Leith as having been rashly made, as having been forced upon the ministers, and as having never received the explicit sanction of the General Assemblies,—an effect of party zeal not uncommon, but weakening the cause which it was designed to support. *

Scheme of polity carried into execution. Jan. 25.

The Earl of Morton no sooner found that the episcopal order was to be restored, than he hastened to St Andrews, to secure the election of John Douglas, the rector of the university, to the archiepiscopal see of that ecclesiastical metropolis of Scotland, actuated by the desire of having it filled by a man devoted to him, and who would not disturb him in the possession of the immense revenues formerly belonging to the archbishops, but which he had obtained from the Regent. † An edict was Feb. 3.

* Calderwood, Petrie, Wodrow, and a controversial writer about the time of the Revolution, adopted this mode of treating with contempt the first appearance of episcopacy in the reformed church of Scotland; but they have, in my estimation, been satisfactorily answered by the author of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, &c.

† Calderwood's Hist. p. 55, and 57. Life of Knox prefixed to his

affixed to the door of the church, and the gate of the abbey, intimating, that the letters of the Regent had been addressed to the dean and chapter of the cathedral, requiring them to choose an archbishop devout to God and his highness, and to his realm profitable and faithful; and charging all the godly ministers mentioned in the edict as appointed to represent the chapter, to assemble on the 6th of February, that they might proceed to the election.* The election took place on the 8th, upon which day Douglas, after considerable opposition, was chosen.† Knox was highly dissatisfied with what had taken place. In a sermon which he preached on the succeeding Sunday, in the presence of Morton, he expressed his disapprobation; and he refused to inaugurate the new primate. This opposition proceeded from various causes. Still desirous that the polity of the first book of discipline should not be invaded, he beheld with regret the first attack which was made upon it; and he was satisfied, that the choice of Douglas would be subservient to that robbery, as he usually styled it, of the church's patrimony, which he had uniformly reprobated. He also dreaded, that the consequences which Beza had apprehended,

CHAP. III.

1572. Feb.

Feb. 10.

History, p. 14. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 321. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 40. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 19.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 317. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 321, 322.

† Bannatyne's Journal, p. 323. Calderwood's MS. Hist. as last quoted.

CHAP. III. 1572.

would follow from the introduction of prelacy; and was thus led by his zeal for the purity of the church, not to concur in what might destroy that purity. That he was not influenced by the idea that episcopacy was at variance with Scripture, is evident from the communication which he, within a few months, made to the Assembly at Perth; and from the part in the ceremony taken by the superintendent of Fife, one of his confidential friends. It had been insinuated that he was chagrined because he had not been himself preferred to the primacy; an insinuation which the impaired state of his health alone would have shewn to be unfounded, but which he repelled, by declaring, that he had refused a greater bishopric which he might have had with the favour of greater men; and that it was for the discharge of his conscience that the church of Scotland should not be subject to the order of bishops, that he publicly expressed his dissatisfaction with the election of a primate. *

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 338—340. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 323 and 376. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 19. Life of Knox, prefixed to his History, p. 33. Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 56. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 201. Calderwood tells, that Patrick Adamson, disappointed at having lost the election, or at not obtaining a bishopric, in a sermon which he delivered, divided bishops into three classes, my Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. The first, he told his audience, was in time of Popery; my Lord's Bishop is now when my lord getteth the fat of the benefice, and the bishop serveth for a portion of it to make my lord's right sure; while the Lord's Bishop is

CHAP. III.

1572. Feb. 10.

When Knox had finished his sermon (for he preached on the Sunday after the election), Winrame, the superintendent of Fife, ascended the pulpit; and after giving a short exhortation to the archbishop, he admitted him to his see, using the forms prescribed in the case of superintendents, and putting the same questions. To these Douglas answered from a paper which he held in his hand. To the question, whether he had made any simoniacal engagement, by which he knew was meant any sacrifice of the revenues of the see, he replied, that he had not; thus strikingly shewing how much men endeavour to delude themselves, or how loosely they estimate the obligation of sincerity, when their own interest and ambition would be affected by an open avowal of truth. When he was asked whether he would be obedient to the church, and would not usurp any authority over it? he said, that he would take no more power than the council and the General Assembly assigned to him. The preliminary ceremonies being concluded, the Bishop of Caithness, the superintendent of Lo-

the true minister of the gospel. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 339, and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 55. Mackenzie, in his Life of Adamson, considers this as the invention of the Presbyterian historians, and refutes it, by observing, that Adamson was, at this period, abroad, and did not return to Scotland till 1573. In this, however, he is mistaken; for Adamson subscribed a petition, which he presented to the Assembly held in March 1572. Calderwood, Vol. II. p. 313. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 305. See also Scot's Lives of the Scotish Reformers, p. 212, 213.

CHAP. III. 1572.

thian, and David Lindsay, who sat with Douglas, laid their hands upon him, and embraced him, in token of his being now inducted into the high office of primate of Scotland.* Several of the other bishoprics were soon after this filled by the leading men amongst the clergy, and the new scheme of ecclesiastical polity was thus completely carried into effect. †

Distracted state of Scotland.

Whilst these changes were taking place in the church, and were under the consideration of the General Assemblies, the political state of the kingdom continued in the highest degree deplorable. Exasperated with a long protracted struggle, the parties exercised against each other the most disgusting cruelty, putting their prisoners instantly to death, and committing the most heart-rending enormities. ‡ The Regent beheld these dismal outrages with unfeigned sorrow. He attributed them, in a great measure, to Elizabeth, who secretly inflamed dissension, that she might, without expence, have the command of Scotland. He had shewed to Randolph, her intriguing agent, that he was aware of

April to June.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 340, and Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 55, 56. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 321—324. Spottiswoode, p. 240, just mentions the admission of the archbishop, without detailing any particulars. Life of Knox, prefixed to his History, p. 33.

† Spottiswood's, p. 264.

‡ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 115. Spottiswoode, p. 266. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1127.

his duplicity, and had indeed so conducted himself towards him, that he had returned to England.* The violence of the factions at length was exhausted; they agreed to return to those maxims by which the horrors of war are in some degree alleviated, and they manifested an inclination to attempt the adjustment of their contending claims.† Elizabeth again interfered. She sent Drury, the marshal of Berwick, instructed to hold the language of reconciliation, though never to lose sight of her interest; and an ambassador having arrived from France, with whom Drury was to act, and who was also charged to settle the differences which had so long subsisted, a negociation immediately commenced. Both parties being eager to restore tranquillity, it was agreed, that an abstinence from hostilities for two months should take place, during which period conferences might be held in safety, and the Regent might summon a convention for sanctioning a lasting peace. The articles of the abstinence were published, and communicated the most sincere joy to the great body of the people. Thanks were in every church offered to God for this commencement of harmony, and fervent prayers were presented, that it might not again be interrupted. The town of Edinburgh was thrown open to all the King's subjects, and the Re-

CHAP. III.

1572.

July.

July 12.

An abstinence from hostilities.

August.

* Melvil's Memoirs, as last quoted.

† Melvil, as before, and Spottiswoode, p. 302.

CHAP. III.

gent, with the nobility adhering to him, once more entered the metropolis. *

1572. Knox returns to Edinburgh.

Tranquillity was no sooner restored, than the inhabitants of Edinburgh resolved to apply to Knox, soliciting his return. They were sincerely attached to him; they considered him as the zealous supporter of civil and religious liberty, and they were peculiarly earnest for his again appearing among them, from their disapprobation of Craig, whom they blamed as having been too compliant to the Queen's faction. † They accordingly sent two of their number to St Andrews, to express the most tender regard for their venerable pastor, and to entreat that he would once more attempt the discharge of his ministerial duties; but, aware of the delicate state of his health, they told him, that no exertion would be required which exceeded his strength, or tended to increase the disease under

August 4.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 347—352, where a copy of the terms specified in the abstinence is inserted. Spottiswoode, p. 262, 263. He says, that Randolph was sent from England; but it seems certain, that Sir William Drury, who, in the month of May 1571, had in vain mediated between the parties, was the person appointed. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 269. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 122, 123. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 115. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 230, 233. He considers that the Queen's party committed an error in agreeing to the armistice. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 131, 131. He mentions, erroneously, that Elizabeth did not permit La Croque to enter Scotland. Camden's Annals, p. 227, 228. These different writers should be compared.

† Wodrow's Life of Craig, in MSS. Collection, Vol. I. folio, p. 10.; and Life of Knox, in Vol. VI. folio, p. 205.

which he laboured. The persons who presented the request, fortified it by the approbation of the General Assembly; and Knox, who was justly gratified by this testimony to the purity of his zeal, and the integrity of his conduct, consented to go to Edinburgh, only stipulating, that he might be left at freedom to declare whatever he conceived to be of importance to the peace of the kingdom, or to the stability and prevalence of true religion. *

Aug. 17. His bodily infirmity.

He left St Andrews on the 17th of August, but, unable to proceed quickly, he did not reach Leith for several days. † He preached on the last day of the month in the High Church, but he found the exertion too great for his strength, and he asked that a smaller place of worship might be assigned to him. He felt much anxiety to converse with Lawson, a minister in Aberdeen, whom he had recommended as a proper person to be called to a pastoral charge in Edinburgh, and he wrote him a short letter, affectingly exhibiting his firm persuasion that he was rapidly approaching to the end of his labours. "Beloved brother, seeing God of his mercy, far above my expectation, hath called me again

Sept. 7.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 358, 359. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 370—373. Life of Knox, p. 34. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 207, 208.

† Bannatyne, p. 373, first says that Knox left St Andrews on the 7th, and afterwards on the 17th of August. This latter is the true date, for the persons sent to him had been at the Assembly at Perth, which met on the 6th of that month.

CHAP. III. 1572.

to Edinburgh, and yet I feel nature so decayed and daily to decay, that I look not for a long continuance of my battle, I would gladly once discharge my conscience into your bosom, and into the bosom of others in whom I think the fear of God remaineth. If I had the ability of body, I should not have put you to the pains to which I require you now, that is, once to visit me that we may confer together of heavenly things, for on earth there is no stability, except the church of Jesus Christ ever fighting under the cross, to whose protection I heartily commend you." To this letter he added these words, *Accelera mi frater, alioqui sero venies.**

Lawson immediately obeyed this summons, so interesting in itself, and so decisive of the estimation in which he was held. He reached Edinburgh in a few days after it was written, and he soon commenced his ministerial labours. He was admitted by Knox, who, although so feeble that his voice was scarcely audible, went through the ceremony with the most impressive solemnity; pointed out the relative duties of a pastor and his people; expressed his gratitude to heaven that a faithful servant had been provided for this important charge; and, after pronouncing the blessing, retired from the pulpit, which he was to ascend no more.†

13th or 16th September.

Nov. 9.

Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 359. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 318—327. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 208.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 366. Bannatyne's Jour-

CHAP. III.

His bodily infirmity, which rapidly increased, had been much aggravated by the distress and horror which the massacre of Protestants in France upon the eve of St Bartholomew had excited in his mind. Intelligence of this enormity was brought to Scotland by an ambassador from England in the month of September. Knox felt his spirit sink under it; and, although he might have derived some consolation from the noble reflection that he had delivered his country from a superstition which sought to gain strength from the breach of every principle of honour, of humanity, and of religion, he bewailed the fate of the illustrious and pious men who had been barbarously sacrificed, denouncing, in the bitterness of his anguish, the vengeance of God against that murderer the King of France, as he justly styled him, and declaring, what has been fully realized, that his name would be execrated by posterity. *

1572. Massacre of St Bartholomew.

The Earl of Marr employed the time of the abstinence in the most strenuous and humane endeavours to unite, in the service of the country, the affections and the zeal of her divided sons. Sensible how much the virulence of invective, so frequent

Anxiety of the Regent to conciliate parties.

nal, p. 413, 414. Life of Knox prefixed to his History, p. 33, 36. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 208, 209.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 360—362. Life of Knox prefixed to his History, p. 35. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 388—402, may be consulted for many facts indicating the public feeling excited in Scotland by the massacre at Paris. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 208, 209.

CHAP. III.

in periods of turbulence and dissension, irritates the passions, and perverts the understandings of men,

1572. he carefully avoided every approach to it,—spoke of the conduct of his opponents in language so conciliating as to disarm prejudice, and acted towards them with a degree of candour which banished suspicion, inclining them to repose in his promises un-

Sept. 12. bounded confidence. An ambassador had arrived from Elizabeth to facilitate the object so earnestly desired by the Regent, and it is probable, although, from the usual tenor of that Queen's conduct, and from the testimony of Sir James Melvil, the contrary has been insinuated, that she was now desirous to compose the differences which she had so successfully fostered. *

Sept. 27. A convention was at length held only a few days before the expiration of the truce; and as it was apparent that there was not time previous to the 1st of October, when it terminated, for the necessary deliberations, it was prolonged till the 1st of January. † Various points, connected with a permanent agreement, were considered and approved. Indeed, previous to this, the Regent had, through Sir James Melvil, opened a communication with the governor of the castle; and, upon being informed of the terms for which Kircal-

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 115, 116. compared with Rapin, Vol. II. p. 104.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 359, 360. Spottiswoode, p. 269. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 397.

dy had stipulated, he swore that peace should take place.* Grange, however, had afterwards been induced to change his mind; and, in addition to his first demands, about which there would have been no difficulty, he insisted that Blackness, then in the possession of the Queen's party, should be entrusted to some of his own friends, and that the lords in the castle should be permitted to leave the kingdom. These conditions the Earl of Morton and his adherents opposed. They represented that it was not safe to commit strong-holds to those who had resisted the King, and that it was hazardous rashly to concede that the lords should retire from the country. Their reasoning convinced the majority of the convention, and nothing was concluded, but that another meeting should be held towards the end of October.† It has been asserted, or supposed, that the Regent would have cheerfully acceded to all the demands of the governor.‡ This, perhaps, may, with some reason, be doubted; but it is certain that the difficulties which he now saw in the way of peace, filled him with melancholy or despair.—He still, however, persisted, urging upon the nobles, and particularly on Morton, the calami-

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 117.

† Spottiswoode, p. 263, 264. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 397, compared with MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 128, and Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 237—240.

‡ MS. Hist. of James, as last quoted. Crawford, p. 240, 241

CHAP. III. 1572.

ties which had resulted from the civil war, and the necessity of concluding a treaty to secure the prosperity or the existence of the kingdom.—Whilst upon a visit to the Earl of Morton, he contracted a violent illness, occasioned or increased by the apprehension of future evils, and by vexation at the firmness with which he was resisted, and having with difficulty been conveyed to Stirling, he expired. While on his death-bed, he, in the most fervent manner, recommended the care of the King's person to his lady, and his brother, whom he appointed keeper of Stirling Castle, till his own son reached the years of manhood; and, sustained by the elevating hopes of future bless, he patiently awaited his dissolution.

Death of the Regent. 29th Oct.

His character.

Of this excellent nobleman it is difficult too favourably to write. Animated by the most noble and disinterested patriotism, his talents and his virtues were devoted to the happiness of his country. Far exalted above the mercenary spirit by which many of the higher ranks in Scotland were at this period actuated, he never sacrificed to interest or ambition what he believed to be his duty; he guarded the King with unremitting fidelity; he detected and he abhorred the insidious policy of Elizabeth; and, possessed of the most amiable and gentle dispositions, he sought to soothe the feelings and to remove the prejudices which had been so fatal to the kingdom. The bigotted adherents of the opposite faction, in that

CHAP. III.

1572.

contracted and illiberal spirit which the historian of human conduct is so often called to deplore, represented his death as a judgment of heaven, evincing, that the righteous cause of the Queen was under the protection of the Almighty, and that none who opposed it could prosper; but even upon their lips the ungenerous sentiment expired; and, at a period of exasperated party-zeal, he was lamented by the wise and the virtuous of every political denomination.* His death suspended the efforts to unite the factions; the meeting fixed for the end of October was not held, and no farther steps for settling the kingdom were adopted till the estates assembled to elect a Regent.

Illness and death of Knox. Nov.

The death of the Regent was soon followed by that of Knox. From the period of his ceasing to appear in the pulpit, his infirmities rapidly increased. A few days after he had admitted Lawson, he was seized with a cough, the severity of which compelled him to relinquish the practice of reading the

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 305. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 411, 412. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 118. It is insinuated in this work, that the Regent had been poisoned, but there seems no ground for the insinuation. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 129. Spottiswoode, p. 264. Some writers say that Marr died on the 8th, the 18th, the 28th of October. Calderwood and Bannatyne say, that he died on the 29th, and I have adhered to their account. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. p. 1128. Camden's Annal, p. 204. Crawford, p. 211.

CHAP. III. 1572. Nov.

scriptures in his family, which he had uniformly delighted to observe. His understanding was, by the violence of his distress, occasionally clouded or impaired, but the ardent zeal for religion which had distinguished his life, was conspicuous even in the wanderings of his vigorous and elevated mind. Firmly convinced that he was soon to leave the world, he expressed his earnest desire to bid farewell to those members of his congregation who had composed his session; and, when they attended, after saying that he had ever taught what he believed was the true doctrine of the gospel, and that his great object had ever been to instruct the ignorant, to comfort the weak, to encourage the humble, and to alarm the proud and the impenitent, he alluded to those parts of his public conduct which had often turned against him the indignation or the reproach even of those by whom he was esteemed. "I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame my too great anger and severity, but God knows that I never in my heart hated those against whom I thundered God's judgments; I did only hate their sins, and laboured with all my power to bring them to Christ. That I spared none, even in the most exalted condition, arose from the fear of my God, who had placed me in the ministry, and who, I knew, would bring me to an account." He concluded by earnestly exhorting them to continue steadfastly in the faith, and, after addressing himself to Lawson, who was present, he prayed

for a blessing upon him, and the church in which he ministered. CHAP. III.

1572. Nov.

The recollections of his earlier days pressed upon his mind. He had tenderly loved Kircaldy of Grange, and notwithstanding all which had happened, he made one effort more to warn him of his danger; but Kircaldy stifled the emotions which this dying proof of regard from his former friend had excited, and he treated the warning with foolish and unfeeling contempt. Many of all classes were desirous to be admitted into the presence of Knox, and to testify the veneration which, though sometimes suspended, they now strongly felt. To the Earl of Morton, who visited him a few days before his dissolution, he gave the soundest and most moving counsel; urged him in the name of God, who was to call him to direct the government, to study in all his actions to promote the divine glory, to advance the interests of pure religion, to be faithful to the King, and to keep steadily in view the welfare of the realm; adding, "if you do this, God will be with you, and honour you, but if you do otherwise, he will deprive you of all your blessings, and your end shall be shame and ignominy."

He seems to have reflected with much satisfaction upon the benefits which he had conferred upon his country; but dreading that he was thus exalting himself, he turned from these reflections to bow down his soul in humility at the throne of his God. In the various conversations which he with

CHAP. III. 1572. Nov.

difficulty held, he displayed the same zeal for rational liberty, and the same impressions of the importance of steadily supporting the Protestant faith, which had been the ruling principles of his conduct, exhorting the noblemen by whom he was visited, to continue in the truth, and to hold no communication with the party in the castle, which he was convinced was determined to restore Mary to the throne.

A short time before he died, his thoughts were chiefly occupied with the awful prospect of futurity which he studiously contemplated, and with those consolations which he derived from the promises of revelation. He had entreated some of his friends to read in his presence, after he himself was unable to do so, some of the most sublime and elevating passages in the sacred scriptures, and his wife read to him the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, in which the apostle dwells on the resurrection of Christ, beautifully illustrates the resurrection of the body, and triumphantly anticipates the blessedness of good men in heaven. He was much affected, and said to those who surrounded him, "Is not that a most comfortable chapter?" Prayers were offered in his chamber about ten in the evening; and when he was asked by the physician whether he had heard them, he feebly articulated, "I would to God that ye and all men heard as I did; I praise God for that heavenly sound. His faithful servant, Bannatyne, begged

him to give a sign that he remembered the precious promises upon which he had often insisted;—he lifted up his hand, and immediately after, with the utmost tranquillity, expired. * CHAP. III. 1572. Nov. 24.

Such, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, was the end of that great and intrepid reformer, to whom his country, under the blessing of Providence, is indebted for emancipation from civil and religious oppression. Of his public conduct, and of the errors into which, in prosecuting the great objects which he contemplated, he was sometimes, from the infirmity of human nature, and from the manners of the age, betrayed, I have, in another work, fully written. † But it is impossible to record his departure from the world, without making His character.

* Calderwood's MSS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 366—373, and history of the Church of Scotland. p. 59, 60. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 427. Jo. Knoxii extremæ vitæ et obitus Historia, by Smeton. Spottiswoode, p. 264—267, has, in a manner highly honourable to himself, and to the great reformer, delineated his character. Wodrow's Life of Knox, in Vol. VI. folio, of his MSS. p. 211—215. This is a work of great research, and containing much valuable information. Appendix by Wodrow, Vol. III. MSS. quarto. Beza's Icones, &c. Mackenzie's Life of Knox, in Vol. III. of his lives, p. 125—136, where the sentiments of different writers with respect to Knox, are collected, and some slander recorded, so indecent, so contemptible, and so evidently absurd, that nothing but the strong prejudices of the author can account for his permitting it to disgrace his work. Life of Knox prefixed to his History, p. 30—40, and 54—56. To more modern writers, however highly respectable, it is unnecessary to refer, as the only authentic sources of information have been pointed out.

† The History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. III. p. 313—

CHAP. III. 1572.

some remarks upon the leading features of his character, and upon the talents by which he was eminently distinguished. His religious principles seem to have at all times influenced his actions; he believed in the religion which he delighted to illustrate and to enforce; and he derived from it that comfort and that serenity, which gladdened him on the brink of the grave. His understanding was sound and comprehensive. With wonderful acuteness, he traced the probable issue of the various struggles which he witnessed; and pronouncing the opinions which his sagacity dictated, with the bold tone which he was accustomed to assume, he was sometimes believed to have supernaturally penetrated into futurity; and he occasionally did not resist the suggestion of his own mind, that he was favoured with communications from heaven. *

* This was, and continues to be the opinion of many whose sentiments are entitled to respect. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 22. Amongst the additions to the copy of Row's MSS. Hist. which I consulted, there is an account of John Davidson, in the course of which the writer remarks, "There were many prophets in Scotland after the Reformation, viz. Mr Wishart, Knox, Welsh, Row, Craig, Davidson, Ferguson;" and even to this ample list he adds an "&c." Wodrow, in his MS. Life of Knox, often expresses his conviction, that the reformer was occasionally endowed with the spirit of prophecy; and Dr M'Crie, in his Life of Knox, lately published, p. 390—393, after some very judicious remarks, admits, that Knox was sometimes favoured with extraordinary premonitions. That the Supreme Being may, in seasons of difficulty, thus enlighten his servants, cannot be denied; but there is great reason for being cautious in admitting the claims which have been made to inspiration. In the case of the reformers, the instances which have been adduced may be differently

CHAP. III. 1572.

But the most marked feature of his character was an intrepidity which no apprehension of danger, no combination of obstacles, or no feelings of tenderness, even to those whom he loved, could for a moment shake; and it was this which peculiarly qualified him for executing the momentous work which he had the happiness to accomplish. The Earl of Morton, when he stood over his grave, paid a deserved tribute to his memory, when he said, "There lies one who, during life, never feared the face of man."

The decided part, however, which he acted, and the manner in which he was compelled to assert the cause of civil and religious freedom, filled with horror all who were attached to the faith of Rome, or who wished to perpetuate the despotism which he was eager to remove; and they have branded him as a fomenter of sedition, and as a turbulent incendiary, who brought misery on his country. Yet it should not be forgotten, that, during his last years, he inculcated submission to the sovereign whom parliament had placed on the throne; that he shewed the most determined antipathy to anarchy and insubordination; and that he

explained; and it is difficult to see how the great work in which they were engaged was promoted by the supernatural illumination which it is alleged was vouchsafed. Good men, at all events, may, upon this point, be allowed to differ; and they who reject the claim, should not be regarded as thus evincing either indifference to religion, or an inclination to depreciate the evidence by which it is supported.

CHAP. III. 1572.

would have probably shrunk from many of the wild and dangerous maxims which, at a succeeding period, became prevalent in Scotland, but which, with unpardonable ignorance, have not unfrequently been represented as the principles which he taught. The shades which have been cast over his reputation, it may be hoped, will yet be dissipated; and while his impetuosity, his warmth of temper, and his occasional coarseness of invective, are admitted and deplored, he will be venerated as having often stood alone in the noble attempt to save, and to enlighten his country.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

Earl of Morton elected Regent....General account of his political sentiments....Renewal of the War....A Parliament....Acts relating to the support of the Protestant Religion, and to the Revenues of the Church....Most of the Queen's Party submit to the Regent....He takes the Castle of Edinburgh....Death and Character of Kircaldy, the Governor....Death of Maitland of Lethington....His Character....Peace restored....Ecclesiastical proceedings....Wise conduct of the Regent....He departs from it, and alienates the affections of the People....He offends the Church....Impolicy of doing so....Arrival of Andrew Melvil in Scotland....General Assembly....First steps towards the introduction of Presbytery....Remarks upon a Speech of Melvil....Report respecting the lawfulness of Episcopacy....New efforts in favour of Presbytery....Conduct of the Regent....Presbyterians urge their object....Important resolution of the General Assembly....Difficulties in which the Regent was involved....He Resigns....Remarks upon his Resignation.

CHAP. IV.

1572. 24th Nov. Earl of Morton elected Regent.

THE Earl of Morton was, on the day upon which Knox died, exalted to the regency. He had uniformly supported the throne of James, had been the friend of the Earl of Murray, and had, in general, directed the measures of the two preceding Regents, and he was thus, upon the death of Marr, naturally chosen to administer the affairs of the

CHAP. IV.

1572.

kingdom. * The meeting of the estates which sanctioned his election, after administering to him the usual oath, appointed a Parliament to be held in January, confirmed the will of the late Regent with respect to the protection of the King's person, and prescribed to Morton the line of conduct which they were anxious that he should adopt. They enjoined him to bestow all offices of trust upon men qualified to discharge the duties which were attached to them, and who were the firm supporters of the Protestant religion; and, amongst other instructions, they exhorted him to cultivate friendship and alliance with the Queen of England. † This direction was probably intended to gratify Morton, by conveying to him an indirect approbation of what had long been his sentiments with regard to Elizabeth. He had uniformly acted upon the principle, that every step taken by the government of Scotland should be regulated by that Princess, or should be calculated to secure her support; he was convinced that, without her cordial assistance, the troubles which had desolated the kingdom would continue to increase, and that her active interference could be obtained only by convincing her that she might at all times rely upon the friendly dispo-

General account of his political sentiments.

* Wodrow's MS. Collections in University of Glasgow. Vol. I. folio, p. 15.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 374. Spottiswoode, p. 267. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 100.

sitions of the Scottish nation. Of this Elizabeth was fully sensible, and she accordingly not only highly approved of his being invested with the regency, but she immediately dispatched Killigrew to congratulate him upon his elevation, and to give him the most positive assurances that she would now take a decided part against those who opposed him, and in confirming the authority of James. * 1572.

Upon his accession he renewed the negociation which his predecessor had commenced with the governor of the castle, although he paid no attention to a letter addressed to him by Lethington, who seems to have been anxious to conciliate him, and once more to insinuate himself into his friendship. † There was, however, little disposition to an amicable adjustment. Kircaldy placed no reliance upon Morton, whom he held in detestation, while that nobleman insisted upon an unconditional surrender, or at least would not hearken to some of the conditions upon which Grange insisted, before he would consent to deliver the important fortress which he held. ‡ Eager, however, to secure peace,

* Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 118. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 100. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 214. Camden's Annals, p. 237. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 164. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 47.

† Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 374—377. Letters of Lethington and Morton, inserted at the end of the Edinburgh edition of Bannatyne's Journal. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 132.

‡ For understanding this matter, the account of Melvil, the warm

CHAP. IV.

1572. the Regent commenced a treaty with the Duke of Chatelherault, Lord Huntly, and the most distinguished of the Queen's adherents; and being powerfully assisted by the representations and the talents of the English minister, he prevailed upon them to listen to a proposal of uniting with him, and to appoint a deputation to meet at Perth with commissioners authorized by government, to settle the terms upon which internal tranquillity should be restored. The Earl of Argyll, who now succeeded Morton, as chancellor, used every effort to conciliate the parties; and there can be little doubt that his interference contributed very much to the adoption of those arrangements which were afterwards completed. * Kircaldy was filled with indignation at the readiness with which the Duke and the other leaders of the Queen's faction complied with the wishes of Morton, and either determined to defend himself to the last extremity, or, hurt at the little concern which had been shewn to include him in the treaty, he began to fortify the castle, and to

1573. 1st Jan. War renewed. make preparations clearly indicating that he was to persist in opposing the government. Morton wisely took the precautions which this conduct of

friend of Kircaldy, should be compared with those of Spottiswoode, of Rapin, of Camden, and the continuator of Maitland's History.

* Spottiswoode, p. 267. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 120. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 109, 440. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 132, 133. Camden's Annals, p. 208. Life of the Earl of Argyll in Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 132.

the governor rendered proper. He appointed Lord Lindsay to be the chief magistrate of Edinburgh, and he ordered a bulwark to be constructed for defending his friends from any assault which might be made upon them. The abstinence had no sooner expired, than Kircaldy commenced offensive operations. He commanded his artillery to play upon the town; and when he found that this subjected his enemies to almost no inconvenience, he set fire to some houses, and occasioned a conflagration, which, from its rapidity and from its widely extending, involved numbers in poverty and wretchedness. *

1573.

A Parliament Jan. 26.

Whilst Kircaldy was thus, in opposition to every dictate of prudence and of love to his country, uselessly perpetuating the evils of war, the Parliament, agreeably to the appointment of the estates, met at Edinburgh. The Earl of Morton was, in the usual form, confirmed in the Regency, receiving the powers with which his predecessors had been entrusted, and a number of acts were passed, shewing the warmest zeal for the Protestant faith, and the utmost anxiety to discountenance or punish all who dissented from the tenets of the church. It was enacted, that all ecclesiastical persons should subscribe the confession of faith, which had been sanctioned at the first establishment of the Reformation; and all who maintained any doctrine incon-

* Spottiswoode, Melvil, and MS. Hist. of James VI. as last quoted. Camden's Annals, p. 259. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 377. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 212.

CHAP. IV.

1573. January. Act relating to the support of the Protestant religion.

sistent with its articles, were to be deprived of their benefices. By another act, it was declared, that they who were adversaries to the true religion, were not faithful subjects to the King. The tenor of this singular statute, which displays the spirit by which the parliament was actuated, and throws some light upon the causes which produced it, it may not be uninteresting to insert. "Forasmuch as there has been great rebellion and disobedience against our sovereign lord's authority, in time past, and seeing the causes of God's true religion, and his highness's authority are so joined, that the hurt of one is common to both; it is therefore ordained, that none shall be reputed as loyal and faithful subjects, but be punished as rebels, who shall not make their profession of the said true religion. And that all such as make profession thereof, and yet have made defection from their due obedience to our sovereign lord, shall be admonished by the pastors and ministers of the church, to acknowledge their offence, and return to their dutiful obedience; and, if they fail therein, to be excommunicated and secluded from the church, as rebellious and corrupt members. And that before such persons as have made defection be received to our sovereign lord's mercy and favour, they shall give the confession of their faith anew, and promise to continue in the confession of the true religion in time coming, maintain our sovereign lord's authority, and that they shall, to the uttermost of their power, fortify, assist, and

maintain the true preachers and professors of Christ's religion, against all enemies of the same; and, namely, against all such, of whatsoever nation, estate, or degree they be of, that have joined and bound themselves, or have assisted, or do assist, to set forward and execute the cruel decrees of the council of Trent (which most injuriously is called by the adversaries of God's truth the Holy League) against the preachers and true professors of the word of God." * The whole of this act, and indeed a great part of the proceedings in the parliament by which it was enacted, evince much dread of the Popish religion, and the firmest conviction that it was necessary to strengthen the Protestant faith, in order to secure the throne of the monarch, and the happiness of his subjects. This state of the public mind was produced by the horror which the massacre of the Protestants at Paris had universally excited. That massacre, so shocking to humanity, and so dreadfully aggravated by the meanest hypocrisy and dissimulation, was conceived to be in perfect harmony with those religious principles, in defence of which it had been perpetrated, and the reformers throughout Europe, trembling for their own safety, and feeling their detestation of Popery heightened, were eager to fortify the bulwarks of a system which had happily rescued

CHAP. IV. 1573.

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. II. p. 381. He says the parliament met on the 15th of January. Glendook's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 200.

CHAP. IV. 1573.

them from a sanguinary and debasing superstition. The effect of the intelligence from Paris upon Knox, has been already mentioned; and it was not less upon the great part of the inhabitants of Scotland. It had no sooner reached that country, than a petition was addressed to the council, that measures might be taken against the cruel and treasonable conspiracies of the Papists; who, having begun in France, would commit similar enormities in all other places if they had power. In consequence of this petition, a proclamation was immediately issued, stating, that in respect of the great murders, and more than beastly cruelty put in execution in divers parts of Europe against the true Christians within the same, proceeding no doubt from the unhappy, devilish, and terrible council of Trent, and pretended not only to be executed in foreign countries, but to be followed with the same, or greater cruelty in the realm of Scotland, it was desirable, that a convention of all zealous Protestants, of whatever political sentiments, should be held for warding off so great a danger, and appointing such a convention to be held in October. The troubled state of the country, at the period fixed for the meeting, prevented it from being numerously attended; but some of the most zealous friends of the Reformation assembled, and formed various resolutions, which were submitted to the Regent and the council. These resolutions pointed out many of the remedies comprehended in the act of Parlia-

ment, the substance of which has been inserted; and attention to the circumstances detailed, discovers the reason of the very strong and intolerant measures which were now adopted. * 1573.

Act relating to the revenue of the clergy, and the reparation of churches.

There are still two acts of this Parliament, to which, in illustrating the state of opinion at the period of which I write, it is proper to advert. It has been already mentioned, that many of the Popish clergy were permitted, after the Reformation, to enjoy the revenues of the benefices, which before that event had been conferred on them. This humane and equitable practice gave rise to the grossest frauds. Many persons purchased at Rome deeds dated before the subversion of the Romish hierarchy in Scotland, and conveying to them certain parts of the patrimony of the church; some procured from Flanders forged documents of a similar nature, whilst others exhibited with false dates grants which Mary had made to them when she swayed the sceptre. To prevent these abuses, an act was framed, so interesting, and in

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 361—365. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 397—401, and 406—411. It is interesting to discover, from this work, the cause of the peculiar zeal against Popery which the acts of Morton's first Parliament express. To the proclamation for holding a convention, were added some articles of the Council of Trent, the substance of which was, that all Lutherans, Huguenots, and Calvinists, should be rooted out. Such dreadful tenets, awfully illustrated as they were by the proceedings in France, could not fail to produce the greatest agitation and alarm. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 208, 209, and the three last numbers of the Appendix.

CHAP. IV. 1573.

many respects so honourable to government, that the leading parts of it merit a place in the history of the ecclesiastical proceedings of the country. "Whereas it was ordained by an act of Parliament 1560, since ratified, that the Bishop of Rome, called the Pope, should have no jurisdiction within this realm, and that none should desire of him title to any thing in the realm, since which, divers subjects have wickedly and contemptuously purchased the said Popish bulls, dispensations, letters, and privileges at Rome, or have caused counterfeit the same in Flanders, or other parts, with antedates; as also some others have purchased or counterfeited gifts and provisions of benefices, with antedates or blanks, as made by the Queen mother to our Sovereign Lord, intending by such false means to obtain the title and possession of benefices or pensions after the death of the present possessors, and thereby both to defraud our Sovereign Lord of his right and patronage, and also the qualified persons professing the true religion of their livings whereupon they should be sustained: It is therefore decerned and declared, that all persons suspected of having such papers shall, when called upon, compear before such of the privy-council, or others, as shall be constituted commissioners, bringing with them their bulls or other papers: And in case the pieces produced be found lawful and sufficient, the same shall be registered, and shall have full faith and validity in time coming; but if the

same shall be found to have been purchased in Rome since the 24th day of August 1560, or otherwise to have been counterfeited, antedated, or purchased blank since that time, they shall be declared by the said commissioners invalide, without any farther process of reduction." * CHAP. IV. 1573.

This act might have been dictated by the desire of extending the field of usurpation to the laity, no less than by a regard to the established church; but the Parliament, wishing to gratify the ministers, or to attach them to the government of Morton, by removing prejudices which many of them from the preceding conduct of that nobleman entertained, approved of an act formerly made, assigning to the officiating clergy all benefices, not exceeding three hundred merks of yearly revenue, and provided for the reparation of churches, which, notwithstanding the solicitude displayed in the First Book of Discipline to guard against this, had been much neglected, or permitted to go to ruin. †

Feb. Leaders of the Queen's party submit to the Regent.

Upon the dissolution of Parliament, the Regent granted a commission to the Earls of Argyll and Montrose, Lords Ruthven and Boyd, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and Sir John Ballenden, justice-clerk, to repair to Perth, for settling the terms of agreement with the Queen's party. They met with the Earl of Huntly and Lord John Hamilton, who had

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 200. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 544.

† Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 200, 201.

CHAP. IV. 1573.

been properly authorized by those whom they represented; and, after much deliberation, in which they were assisted by Killigrew, the English ambassador, harmony was restored, upon conditions very humiliating to those noblemen who had so long resisted the Prince's claim to the throne. The principal articles were, that all persons comprehended in the pacification should acknowledge and profess the true religion established within the realm, and maintain the preachers and professors thereof against all opposers, especially against the confederates of the Council of Trent; that the Earl of Huntly and Lord John Hamilton, with their friends and followers, should submit themselves to the King and to the government of the Earl of Morton, his Regent, acknowledging themselves the King's subjects by their oaths and subscriptions; that they should confess that all things done by them, under colour of any other authority since the time of his Majesty's coronation, had been unlawful, and of no force or effect; that an act of Parliament should be made with all their consents, ordaining that none of the subjects should supply or shew any favour, directly or indirectly, to those who should practise against the religion presently professed, the King's person, authority, and Regent; it being understood, that, if they violated these terms, the remissions granted to them, with all other benefits of the pacification, should be void, and they should be pursued for

their past offences, as if they had never obtained pardon for the same." *

1573.

After the treaty was concluded, Morton had an interview with the Earl of Huntly, and, having cordially approved the conduct of the commissioners, the agreement was, by a convention of the estates, ratified and confirmed. †

April.

This important arrangement, materially contributing to restore tranquillity to a distracted kingdom, reflects much credit upon the vigour and the talents of the Regent, by whose management it was completed. He was, however, much assisted by the conviction that he was supported by Elizabeth, and by the part which Killigrew, her ambassador, took in the conferences which thus happily terminated. ‡

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 389—397. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 138—149. It is amusing to see how Crawford, who professes to give a faithful copy of the MS., has here deviated from it to express, in the strongest language, his attachment to the party of Mary, and his deep regret that those who composed it had been prevailed upon to accede to the truce, which laid the foundation for so humiliating an agreement. Spottiswoode, p. 268, 269. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 92—94, and 100. Camden's Annals, p. 238.

† MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 138. Spottiswoode, p. 271.

‡ Life of the Earl of Huntly, in Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 92. The interference of Elizabeth is thus noticed in the preamble to the treaty: "Having hereto, that is, to an agreement, the earnest motions and solicitations of the Queen's Majesty of England, nearest princess in the world to his highness, both by blood and habitation, made, on her Highness's behalf, by the Right Worshipful

CHAP. IV.

1573. April.

Kircaldy and his adherents now stood alone in their opposition to the Regent. The terms upon which the Duke and Huntly, in name of the party, had submitted to government, were immediately communicated to Grange, and he was earnestly intreated to accede to them; but he resolutely adhered to his determination to reject them, declaring that he esteemed them so shameful and degrading, that he would submit to any extremity rather than give to them his approbation. The Earl of Rothes and Lord Boyd, who might have been expected to influence his mind, pointed out to him the dangers with which he was threatened; but he remained inflexible, trusting that he would be able, from the strength of the castle, to make such resistance as would lead Morton to grant more favourable conditions. *

Henry Killigrew, her Majesty's ambassadour." MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 139. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 456.

* This account, so probable from all the circumstances connected with the transaction, is supported by the authority of Spottiswoode, p. 270; the author of the MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 150, 151; Crawford, in his Memoirs, p. 263, 264; Crawford, in his Lives of Officers of State, p. 100; Camden, in his Annals, p. 239; and the continuator of Maitland's History of Scotland;—and is contradicted by the solitary and partial testimony of Sir James Melvil, the warm friend of Grange. This writer mentions, that, after the pacification at Perth, the Regent was determined not to listen to Kircaldy, who would have acceded to any reasonable terms. He says, "What rage was in the Regent's mind, or what should have induced him to bring an army from England, when he could, without it, have obtained the castle, I know not." It was indeed difficult to conceive that Morton would have acted so unwisely as to apply for a foreign army when

1573. He takes the Castle of Edinburgh. 29th May.

The Regent determined to lose no time in reducing the castle, the possession of which was essential for giving full stability and energy to his administration, and, that he might not fail in his attempts against it, he solicited Elizabeth to send an army to commence and carry on the siege. She gave orders to Drury, marshal of Berwick, to march into Scotland with a considerable force, and a formidable train of artillery; and the Regent having, to prevent any misunderstanding, wisely arranged the terms upon which he accepted of this assistance, Drury arrived in Edinburgh with his troops about the end of April. He immediately made preparations for assaulting the castle, and, notwithstanding the constant and harassing fire to which he was exposed, he mounted thirty-one pieces of ordnance, and made a breach in the wall, and having got possession of a part of the fortress, he suspended the attack upon the solicitation of the governor, who offered, in a conference with Drury, upon certain conditions, to capitulate. The Regent, however, now insisted upon an unconditional surrender, and

25th April.

he could have gained every thing by treaty; and this alone leads to the conclusion, that he saw there was no hope of Kircaldy assenting to the terms to which the other leaders of the party had agreed. This appears even from Melvil's account, for he does not say that Kircaldy was willing to accede to the treaty of Perth, but only that he would have given up the castle to the Earl of Rothes, according to a former proposal. Morton, for many reasons, was desirous that no such measure should be adopted. See Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 108, for some remarks on Melvil's account.

CHAP. IV.

1573. May 29. Kircaldy, with his accustomed heroism, resolved to defend himself to the last; but finding his feeble garrison dispirited and alarmed, he and Lethington delivered themselves to the English general. Elizabeth commanded Drury to put the prisoners in the power of the Regent, who, exasperated at the obstinacy of Grange, and perhaps considering the forfeiture of his life essential to the continuance of tranquillity, ordered him to be executed. He was accordingly, with some others, hanged in the market-place of Edinburgh. *

Death of Kircaldy.

Aug. 3.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 408—412. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 212, 213. Spottiswoode, p. 271, 272. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 24. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 153, 154. Camden's Annals, p. 240, 241. Stowe's Annals, p. 675—677. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 121—123. Melvil affirms that Drury had pledged his honour to Kircaldy that he should be reinstated in his lands, and that upon the faith of this he surrendered. It does not seem probable that Drury would have done this without the concurrence of Morton, and still less probable, that, if he had done so, he would not have insisted upon the agreement being fulfilled. Indeed Calderwood and Wodrow expressly assert that the proposals of Kircaldy were rejected by Drury. Yet Melvil mentions, what at first seems to give some support to his statement, that Drury resigned his situation in consequence of the execution of Grange, and that James, when he came of age, disapproved of it, and ordered Kircaldy's bones to be taken up and buried honourably in the vault of his ancestors. Crawford, in his Memoirs, supports the account of Melvil, and adds, that Morton complained of the English general having promised terms to Grange and those who adhered to him, in opposition to an agreement between them, the first article of which stipulated, that neither of them should transact or compound with the besieged without the consent of both. Memoirs, p. 269. It is not unlikely that Drury was anxious that the governor should be saved, had interceded for him, and was disappointed, or disgusted at not obtaining his request; and there was so

1

CHAP. IV.

1573.

Such was the lamentable and ignominious death of a man who had distinguished the greater part of his life by steadily supporting that cause to the triumph of which he fell a sacrifice. He had early embraced the Protestant faith, and had beheld the oppression of Beaton with such indignation, that he not only countenanced the scheme for the murder of that prelate, but was present when he was put to death. He was amongst the number, who, when the castle at St Andrews was taken and destroyed, were sent to France, and subjected to the most severe sufferings, at which time he held with Knox the most affectionate intercourse. He afterwards took an active part in the struggles of the Congregation, and in devising and executing measures for the success of the reformers; he promoted the views of the lords who combined against Mary; received that unfortunate Princess when she surrendered herself to the nobles; and did not shrink from the harsh and cruel treatment to which she was soon compelled to submit. The Earl of Murray reposed in him unbounded confidence, and gave the most unequivocal proof of his regard by entrusting him with the castle of Edinburgh. Private causes, which have never been satisfactorily explained, led

His character.

much gallantry, and so many virtues in the character of Kircaldy, as might, much to the honour of the Monarch, have led him to pay to the memory of a brave man the respect which he certainly did. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 105. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 1135.

CHAP. IV.

1573.

him, soon after having obtained this honourable situation, to alienate himself from his friend and benefactor, and, after the death of Murray, he became the zealous partizan of this unhappy Queen, whose deposition he had a little before considered as securing the liberty and the religion of his country. For sacrificing the peace of Scotland to private antipathy, from whatever source it originated, he merits the heaviest censure, for he certainly gratified that antipathy, by relinquishing the maxims and the conduct which his unbiassed judgment had long approved. Yet allowance must be made for the weakness and the passions of men in periods of turbulence and of anarchy, and this deep stain must not conceal the virtues of which he was in an eminent degree possessed. He early signalized himself by the most steady intrepidity, while the enterprizes which he suggested not only displayed a sound and comprehensive mind, but were, when directed by himself, generally successful. Impetuous and ardent in prosecuting hostilities, he was, in private life, mild and gentle, and he uniformly mingled the pride of victory with humanity to the vanquished. Of a generous and disinterested disposition, he was friendly to all who were involved in misfortune, and there cannot be a more affecting proof of the regard, which, in the circle of his relations, was cherished for him, than that a great number of them offered to make the most painful sacrifices to Morton if he would consent to spare the life of

their beloved chieftain. He submitted to death with calmness and resignation, and, while he lamented the errors which pressed upon his recollection, he was elevated by that hope of divine mercy, and of eternal happiness, which his religious principles enabled him to entertain. * CHAP. IV. 1573.

Maitland of Lethington, who had been carried to Leith, heard, with the utmost horror, the instructions of Elizabeth to deliver the prisoners to the Regent; and, either disdaining to be at the mercy of Morton, or apprehending that he might be doomed to the same fate which awaited Grange, he, a few weeks before the death of the governor, by a dose of poison, as it was commonly reported, put an end to his life. † Death of Maitland of Lethington. 9th July.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 411, 412, and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 62, 63. Wodrow's MSS, Vol. VI. folio, p. 212, 213. Spottiswoode, p. 272. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 122, 123. This writer has allowed the warmth of friendship to give a high colouring to his delineation of one whom he seems to have ardently loved. Crawford, in his Memoirs, p. 270—272, has given a very opposite representation, marked by a want of candour, evincing the violent prejudices which he entertained. Camden, in his Annals, p. 241, mentions the affectionate interference of Kircaldy's relations. It is remarkable that Melvil has not recorded it, yet, from the nature of the fact, there seems no room to doubt the fidelity of Camden. He is indeed indirectly supported by Calderwood and Wodrow.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 411. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 212. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 122. Spottiswoode, p. 272. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 151. This writer merely says that Maitland died of sickness, and Crawford in his Memoirs, p. 272, mentions that he swallowed poison; but, in a note, the absurd story of this

CHAP. IV.

1573. His character.

He had been blessed by nature with the finest talents, and had received from his venerable father, who long survived him, all the advantages of the most liberal education. Before his elevated genius difficulties vanished; he acquired knowledge with a facility of which ordinary men cannot form a conception; he excelled in literature, in poetry, and in eloquence; and he possessed an acutenes of political discernment which enabled him with ease to penetrate into the motives of those with whom he associated, and to form the justest conceptions of what was necessary for the good of his country, or for the advantage of the faction to which he gave his support. Yet his elegant attainments, and his acknowledged superiority of understanding, while they excited admiration, failed in procuring esteem or respect; for his conduct was marked by a fickleness which destroyed confidence, which was inconsistent with steady principle, which involved him in difficulties from which he could extricate himself only by the sacrifice of his integrity, and which rendered him despicable in the eyes, even of those by whom, for interested purposes, he was

having been administered by Morton, who was afraid publicly to execute him, is asserted. Life of Maitland, in Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. III. p. 232. This writer, upon the authority of Johnston, asserts that the Secretary was broken down by disease, and that his enemies gave out that he took poison. The day of his death, about which authors differ, I have fixed upon the authority of Calderwood and Wodrow.

courted and caressed. His history and his fate strikingly teach the infinite importance of early fixing upon a right foundation the maxims by which life is to be directed, and the wisdom of early acquiring habits of patient reflection and persevering exertion,—shewing, that, without this discipline, which genius too often scorns, no degree of genius can secure respectability and dignity of character, the noblest objects which ambition can strive to attain. While we read the bitter satire directed against Maitland by the energetic pen of Buchanan, and which, from the weakness now mentioned, that captivating writer has entitled the Camælion, it is impossible not to lament the waste of powers which might have disseminated national security and happiness; but, at the same time, it is impossible not to draw the useful conclusion, that the common measure of human intellect, and of human acquisition, when accompanied with vigorous application and virtuous principles, is often more valuable to the world than those splendid and dazzling endowments, which we are so apt, especially at the commencement of life, to view with envy or with despair. *

CHAP. IV. 1573.

* Spottiswoode, p. 272. Camden's Annals, p. 211. Life of Maitland, in Vol. III. of Mackenzie's Lives, p. 231, 232. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1135, 1136. The author of this continuation says, "I have read some of his writings, which, for composition and extent of thought, are inferior to none of those of the best masters of those times." Mackenzie has given an imperfect

CHAP. IV.

1573. Peace restored.

The death of Grange was the last blow to the party attached to the queen, no attempts being made after this period to remove James from the throne. The Earl of Huntly retired from public life to enjoy the quietness of rural tranquillity, and continued to live upon his estates till he was cut off by sudden death in the vigour of his days; the Duke of Chatelherault, after many vicissitudes of fortune, and much wavering of party attachment, closed his life in peace; and the captains who had been under the command of Kircaldy, went with their followers to foreign countries, and there upheld the high martial character which the inhabitants of Scotland have long possessed, and will, it may be trusted, long retain. *

Ecclesiastical proceedings. March 6.

Between the meeting of the lords in Perth, and the surrender of the castle, the General Assembly was held in Edinburgh. This was the first assembly after the modified system of Episcopacy had been introduced, and the vacant bishoprics filled by

list of his writings. I have been informed that there is a MS. collection of his poems, many of which possess great merit. Writers of all parties admit the brilliancy of his talents. In Bannatyne's Journal he is frequently styled the head of wit, an appellation which was probably often given to him, and which Bannatyne knew would be universally understood. Cameelion by Buchanan, published by Ruddiman."

* Life of the Earl of Huntly, in Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 91. He died in 1576. Spottiswoode, p. 275. The Duke of Chatelherault died at the Castle of Hamilton in the year 1575. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 155, and 159, 160. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 272.

Protestant divines, but no change was produced upon the spirit or proceedings of those by whom it was composed. With a want of respect, which certainly was not a favourable omen for the increasing influence of the hierarchy, a parochial clergyman was chosen to preside, although the Archbishop of St Andrews was present; and that there might be no ground for imagining that the government of the church was to be intrusted to the bishops, the Assembly exercised its powers in giving to them and the superintendents such instructions as were intended for the good of the church, enjoining them to follow the admonitions which the collected body of pastors and elders chose to address to them. In this assembly, a most gratifying tribute of respect was paid to the memory of Knox. The Regent addressed to the ministers a letter, in which, after alluding to the virtues of the great reformer, he requested that the pension which Knox had from the church, consisting of five hundred merks money, two chalders of wheat, six chalders of bear, and four chalders of oats, might be paid for the ensuing year to Margaret Stewart, his relict, and his three daughters, for their education and support. The request was cheerfully granted; and the act framed in consequence, commenced by recording "the long and and fruitful travels made in the kirks of God, by the late John Knox, who had departed in the mercy of God." 1573.

CHAP. IV.

1573. In reference to the measures which, at the suggestion of the ministers, had been adopted by Parliament, it was ordained that the utmost ecclesiastical severity should be used against Papists, and that the whole kingdom might have access to religious instruction, the regulations that all ministers and beneficed persons, who had received their appointments since the Reformation, should reside in their parishes, and discharge the duties which, at their admission, they engaged to perform, were anew enforced. So important did the Assembly esteem this object, that power was given, not to the bishops, but to the superintendents and commissioners of churches, to depose all who did not reside. Bishops, superintendents, and commissioners were required to present themselves on the first day of every Assembly, and to remain till it was dissolved, under severe penalties.

An application had been made by the Regent, for permission to some of the learned ministers to become senators of the College of Justice,—the original constitution of that court requiring that a certain proportion of the judges should be taken from the sacred order. The application was resisted upon the ground, that none were able properly to fulfil what both offices, which thus would be united, required, and the Assembly accordingly prohibited all ministers from becoming judges, with the exception of Robert Pont, who, in a former Assembly, had been allowed to act in that capacity. So anxious was

1573.

the Assembly to establish this point, that, not satisfied with the decision upon the particular case, it laid down the general principle, that it is neither agreeable to the word of God, nor to the practice of the primitive church, that the administration of the word and sacraments, and the dispensing of civil and criminal justice, should be so confounded as that one person should be engaged in both. *

Wise conduct of the Regent.

The Earl of Morton had no sooner succeeded in dispersing his enemies, than he directed his attention to bestow upon the kingdom the security

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 129—133. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 100—108. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 8, 9. of the Life of Robert Pont, and Vol. VI. folio, p. 215, 216. Calderwood's Hist of the Church of Scotland, p. 61, 62. It was to this Assembly that Richard Bannatyne made the application respecting Knox's History, to which I have elsewhere alluded. It would be foreign to my design to give a minute detail of the circumstances connected with that celebrated work, and I merely observe, that the most ample and satisfactory information has been collected by Wodrow in his MS. life of Knox, being the sixth Vol. folio, of his MSS. p. 219—228, from which it appears, that the authenticity of the first four books of the history is unquestionable; that it has, however, in various editions, particularly in that of David Buchanan, been much corrupted and interpolated, and that the most correct and genuine edition is that by Matthew Crawford, published in 1725, from the MS belonging to the University of Glasgow, an interesting account of which MS. is given by Wodrow. That edition I uniformly quoted; and I may just mention, because, from not attending to the circumstance, some doubt has been entertained of the accuracy of what I stated respecting the prediction usually ascribed to Wishart, that this prediction is not in Crawford's edition, or in the MS. but is one of Buchanan's interpolations.

CHAP. IV. 1573.

and happiness of which it had been so long deprived. He began by making an expedition to the borders, which, during the feebleness of the government, had been the scene of riot and pillage; he took hostages from the chief clans, to secure their obedience to the laws; and he appointed the ablest persons in the neighbourhood to superintend the districts most likely to continue in a state of insubordination. So strictly was justice, in consequence of these precautions, administered, that robbery ceased, and the people were enabled in safety to improve the country, and to add to their own comfort and prosperity. Upon his return, he gave directions for strengthening the castle of Edinburgh, and for putting into a proper state the other fortresses of the kingdom; he introduced order into the mode of collecting and distributing the revenues of the crown; he recovered the crown lands which had been improperly alienated; redeemed the jewels which Mary, in her pecuniary difficulties had pledged, and put the laws in force amongst all ranks. By this wise and humane regard to those over whom he ruled, he gained their esteem and love, and was revered for the prudence and ability with which he filled his distinguished situation. *

* Spottiswoode, p. 272. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 156. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 124. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 100. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 270.

1573.

But he did not long act with the propriety and the moderation with which he commenced his Regency. Finding himself freed from opposition, and convinced that he had no longer cause to dread the subversion of his influence, he allowed the avarice which had at all times been a prominent feature in his character to determine his conduct. Although he was possessed of wealth, more than sufficient to gratify every desire of comfort or of splendour; although, from having no children, he could not delude himself with the pretence that he was interested for their exaltation, he resolved to accumulate riches by every method which ingenuity could devise. He instituted what he called courts of justice, which were shamefully rendered instrumental in extorting money from those who were summoned to attend; he abridged the number of the King's attendants; he exacted enormous fines in those cases in which it had been customary to make solicitations to the crown; and he harassed the merchants, insisting on their purchasing licenses for the exportation of grain, and for importing wines; and under pretence of their having carried abroad the coin of the kingdom, he committed them to prison till they purchased their liberty by such sums as he or his agents consented to receive. This grinding oppression, constantly interfering with the business and the enjoyments of life, and affecting every family, excited much dissatisfaction, and soon changed into reproaches the ap-

He departs from it and alienates the affections of the people.

CHAP. IV.

plause with which he had been greeted, after he restored peace to the nation. *

1573. He offends the church.

But he did not rest satisfied with harassing the people by extorting their property, he turned his views also to that part of the patrimony of the church which the reformed ministers had hitherto enjoyed. By various acts of the legislature, the thirds of the revenues of benefices were set apart for the clergy, upon condition of their paying a certain proportion for the support of the King's household. These thirds were collected by men appointed by the superintendents, who, according to certain regulations, distributed the amount amongst the different classes of public instructors. One great inconvenience resulted from this arrangement. Stipends were not allocated, as it is termed in Scotch law,—that is, made payable from the parishes in which those who received them officiated; but it was necessary to wait upon the superintendents, and to submit to what, from the repeated complaints of the ministers, appears to have been attended with much inconvenience. The Regent, taking advantage of this circumstance, proposed that the thirds should be collected by him, promising that he would immediately fix the stipend

* Spottiswoode, p. 273. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 124. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 156 160. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 100, 101. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 274—276. He also sentenced to whipping and imprisonment, those who eat flesh in time of Lent, which sentences were uniformly remitted upon paying fines.

1578.

of each parish, and would establish a mode of payment which would exempt the ministers from trouble; and, in order to remove all suspicions, he assured them that, if the scheme was not found advantageous to the church, the thirds should be placed on the footing upon which they had been before. He thus succeeded in getting the command of this large revenue, and he soon disclosed the motives by which, in doing so, he had been guided. Far from rendering the payment of stipends more easy, he often refused to pay at all, and the clergy were compelled to waste their time at court in the most distressing, and not unfrequently fruitless solicitations. To lessen the sum requisite for providing religious instruction, he united many parishes, appointing one minister to do the duty of several churches; he gave to the readers a trifling pittance, and even treated with the utmost harshness the venerable superintendents, the fathers of the Protestant establishment in Scotland. When representations were made to him for the payment of their salaries, he contemptuously replied, that, as bishops had been introduced, any other superior order was useless, and he diminished what had been constantly allotted to them.*

* Spottiswoode, p. 272, 273. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 38; and in that of John Davidson, p. 2. Davidson attacked the Regent in a small pamphlet, entitled, "A Dialogue, or mutual talking between a Clark and a Courtier." Collier's

CHAP. IV.

1573. These harsh and dishonourable proceedings irritated the ministers, but they could oppose to them only the acts of their own courts, and the influence which they possessed over the public mind. To put in a striking light the indifference of the Regent to the spiritual interests of the King's subjects, it was reenacted in the General Assembly, "That although sundry churches were appointed to one man, yet he should reside at one church, which was to be properly his, giving such attention to the other churches as the bishop or superintendent should think proper, it not being inconsistent with his duty to his own parish, which he was by no means to neglect." This act evidently took its rise from the measures of the Regent, and evinces the temper in which they were regarded by the ministers. They had not concealed their sentiments, and Morton seems to have been offended, and desirous to shew his disregard; for, in the register of the Assembly, there is inserted a supplication to him to countenance their meeting with his presence, which, contrary to invariable practice, he had declined, or omitted to do. The three superintendents, Erskine, Winram, and Spottiswoode, who had struggled for the Reformation, and who had long possessed the esteem of the people, were shocked with the con-

1574. March.

Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 518. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 209, 210. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 156, 157. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 420—422.

tempt shewn to them by the Regent; and they solicited this Assembly to accept their resignation, as their office was now rendered unnecessary. This was unanimously refused; and, to express the reverence with which the scheme of polity, marked out in the First Book of Discipline, was still regarded, it was ordained that the bishops should not perform any part of the episcopal office within the districts over which superintendents had been appointed, without the consent and permission of these superintendents. *

Impolicy of this part of the Regent's conduct.

The whole of the Regent's proceedings against the church were in the highest degree inconsistent with the policy, which, in the situation in which Scotland was at that time placed, a wise ruler should have anxiously adopted, and they certainly laid the foundation of the numberless evils, which,

* Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 138, 139. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 432. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 39, 40; and of James Lawson, p. 4—7. Wodrow supposes that this resignation was a preparatory step to abolishing all distinction amongst the ministers; but it seems to have originated from the feelings excited by the conduct of the Regent; and the subsequent proceedings in the Assembly in favour of superintendents, shew that there was no design in the church at large to lay them aside. A strong testimony in their favour may be seen in Row's MS. Hist. p. 17. Spottiswoode, p. 273. Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 65, 66. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 210—212. It is amusing to perceive the ingenuity with which this acute, but zealous writer, endeavours to reconcile the act relating to the superintendents, with those notions of reverence for the order of bishops, which he represents as prevalent in Scotland at the time when the act was passed. Row's MS. Hist. p. 15, 16.

CHAP. IV. 1574.

at a subsequent period, interrupted the tranquillity and retarded the prosperity of Great Britain. He had promoted the introduction into the church of a modified and excellent form of episcopacy; he had done so from the persuasion that he would thus secure the peace of the country, by directing to the support of government the strong influence which the preachers had over the minds and the principles of the people. He had it now in his power effectually to accomplish an object of such evident and such vast importance. The reformers, from the commencement of their noble and arduous struggle, had suffered, as has been already mentioned, under the severest poverty. Even after they had gained the ascendancy, various causes, which all the energy of administration would have been insufficient at once to counteract, had prevented the execution of the schemes which had been formed for giving to the ministers the independence which it was prudent and just to bestow. Yet, with a magnanimity and a devotion to what they revered as truth, which merit the highest praise, their zeal in promoting whatever tended to effectuate a reformation in religion was not weakened; and fully persuaded that the Regents who successively held the reins of government, earnestly wished to redeem the pledge which they had given for the restoration of the ecclesiastical revenues, the clergy, under circumstances which might have shaken weaker fortitude, unceasingly laboured

to strengthen the throne of James. All the reasons, however, which had prevented the government from granting the claims of the church were now removed. The civil war which had desolated and divided the kingdom, was brought to a conclusion; the church had been regulated agreeably to what it had been conceived was requisite for preserving the constitution, and giving effect to the decisions of parliament; and Morton had acquired a degree of power which none would have ventured to dispute or to resist. Had he availed himself of this favourable situation to endow the bishopries with suitable revenues, and to extricate the inferior clergy from their pecuniary difficulties, he would have completely gained the affections of the reformed teachers; he would have satisfied them, that the government with spotless honour had evinced its attachment to the Reformation; he would have destroyed every motive for agitating new plans of ecclesiastical polity; the principles upon which the episcopal jurisdiction rested would have been rendered daily more acceptable to the community; and there would, in all human probability, have resulted such union and harmony amongst the different orders of the state, as would have prevented those dreadful political convulsions, which, although ultimately most beneficial, long inflicted the heaviest evils upon the inhabitants of Scotland. With the most sincere attachment to the reformed religion, and with the firm conviction that the line of political conduct

1574.

CHAP. IV. 1574.

which has been pointed out was that which it was wise to follow, the avarice of the Regent led him to deviate from it,—prevented his understanding, which was naturally good, from discerning that he had now an opportunity of giving tranquillity to the kingdom, which, if lost, could never be recalled—and, for a contemptible addition to his own wealth, and to that of the Sovereign, he alienated from him an order of men, who were eager to support his administration, and whose opposition could not fail to embarrass any party to which the government might be entrusted. The ministers now felt the confidence with which they had reposed in the honour of the Regents, weakened; they believed, that whatever might be the religious principles and sentiments of the nation, the resolution was formed to wrest from them every comfort; and they naturally recurred to what had been before a leading principle of their conduct, that their only security for obtaining that measure of wealth, without which they and all who were dear to them would be exposed to much inconvenience and distress, was to cherish the zeal of the people,—to impress upon them, that their spiritual and political interests depended upon the fate of the church,—and to take advantage of the privilege which had been retained of revising the form of ecclesiastical polity, for introducing changes which would diminish the influence of government over the ministers, and give to their body a constitution, leading it to oppose the

court, and to vindicate with the highest tone of authority the liberties of their countrymen, and the bold efforts of their own faction to limit or defy what was asserted as the prerogative of the crown. Accordingly, all the historians of this era mention, that Morton lost, in the manner which has been detailed, the attachment of the church; that he was afterwards constantly thwarted by it; and that, upon discovering his error, he made vain efforts to apply the remedy which he perceived it to require.* CHAP. IV. 1574.

About this critical period, when the slightest spark was sufficient to kindle the most alarming flame, Andrew Melvil, whose name holds so conspicuous a place in the history of his country, arrived in Scotland. This eminent man was descended from a respectable family, and was born, in the year 1545, at Baldovie, in the neighbourhood of Montrose. He received the elements of his education at the school of that town,—he completed, with high applause, a course of philosophy at St Andrews,—and he afterwards studied for some time at the university of Paris, the reputation of which Arrival of Andrew Melvil in Scotland. July.

* Spottiswoode, p. 373. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 35 and 39; in Life of Lawson, p. 7; and of Andrew Melvil, p. 6. Wodrow, although wrong in affirming that the presbyterian polity, as afterwards adopted, was kept in view in all the measures adopted from the establishment of the Reformation, is right in affirming that innovations in polity were in agitation before Melvil's arrival in Scotland. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 548. Life of Morton, in Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 101. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery considered, &c. p. 211.

CHAP. IV. 1574.

was diffused over Europe. Having gone to Poictiers, he filled, for a few years, a professor's chair in the college, and when, upon the place being besieged, the students were dispersed, he was received into the family of a man of rank, as the preceptor of his only son. His pupil having been accidentally killed in the course of the siege, he left Poictiers and came to Geneva, the seat of ecclesiastical reformation. He was appointed professor of humanity, a decisive proof that his early reputation for science and learning had not diminished; and he listened with admiration and conviction to the principles respecting church government which Calvin inculcated, and which were enforced with fiercer zeal by Beza, the illustrious disciple of that great reformer,—a man of vast erudition, who devoted his talents to the illustration of the Scriptures, and who had imbibed, or formed the opinion, that these Scriptures were directly hostile to that episcopacy which had for many ages contaminated, as he had brought himself to believe, the church of Christ. The fame of Melvil made a deep impression upon the Bishop of Brechin, who happened to visit Geneva, and, convinced that his abilities would be of much service to the cause of religion in Scotland, he earnestly requested him to renounce the situation which he held, and to visit his native land. He felt that desire to comply which the associations of his youth so naturally tended to create, but he found much difficulty in obtaining permission, and when

this was at length granted, Beza wrote with him to the General Assembly, bearing the strongest testimony to his piety and his literary attainments, and added, "that the greatest token of affection the church and university of Geneva could shew to Scotland was, that they had suffered themselves to be robbed of Mr Andrew Melvil, that the church of Scotland might be enriched." This letter, which was delivered to the General Assembly which met in August, raised the expectations of the clergy with regard to Melvil. He was solicited to settle at St Andrews, but, in consequence of the intreaties of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he received the important situation of principal in the university of that city. * By many of the writers who condemned the alterations in the constitution of the church, which, under his direction, were adopted, he has been represented as violent and impetuous. That the charge is not without foundation will abundantly appear in tracing the history of his conduct; but it ought to be observed, that he at first acted with much prudence, avoiding whatever might shock those whom he was desirous to influence. Accordingly, although from the time of his arrival in Scotland, he never lost sight of his design to in-

1574.

August.

November.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 451—456, and 467. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 1—5. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 26—33. Spottiswoode, p. 275. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 60. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 549

CHAP. IV. 1574

troduce the presbyterian form of ecclesiastical p lity which he had venerated at Geneva, he did not incautiously disclose his intentions; and, even after he began to carry them into execution, he displayed a dexterity of management which should qualify those accounts of him which his enemies have assiduously transmitted to posterity. *

General Assembly. 7th Aug.

In the General Assembly which met immediately after his arrival, much time was spent in considering the lamentable state into which the church, through the avarice of the Regent, had been cast; and the members, unwilling to abandon the hope that he might be induced to renounce what was so hazardous to the peace of the kingdom, and so shocking to the zeal of the reformers, solicited him to grant stipends to superintendents in all countries destitute of them, both where there were bishops and where there were none; to restore to the different towns the ministers who had formerly laboured in them, not assigning to them any other churches; and to place in vacant parishes such persons as could be found qualified for the discharge of the pastoral duty. Deeply impressed

* Spottiswoode, p. 275. Collier, as last quoted. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 211. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 217, 218. The author of this work has quoted a letter from Melvil to Beza, dated 1579, in which he mentions, that for five years he had not ceased to fight against pseudo-episcopacy. This shews that he had kept his scheme in view, and, probably in secret promoted it, from the year 1574, when he came to Scotland.

1574.

with the importance of providing for those destined for the church proper means of acquiring theological learning, they prayed "that as, in the ecclesiastical function, there are only two distinct offices of teaching, the doctor that interprets the scriptures, and the minister who teaches and applies the same, his Grace would take order that doctors be placed in universities, and stipends granted to them, whereby, not only they, who are presently placed may have occasion to be diligent in their cure, but also other learned men may have occasion to seek places in colleges within this realm." With that dread of free discussion, which the friends of truth have no cause to entertain, but which has existed amongst all religious denominations, some ministers were appointed to examine the different books which were published. The appointment was made in the following act, explaining the views, and throwing light upon the sentiments of those by whom it was framed. "Forasmuch as, by imprinting and putting to the light works repugnant to the truth of God's word, or containing manifest error, the truth may be heavily prejudged, and the weak seduced from the truth; therefore the General Assembly, presently convened, have all in one voice given power to certain persons here named, conjunctly to visit and oversee all manner of books and works that shall be prepared to be printed, and to give their judgment thereupon, if the same be allowable and approved by the law of God or

CHAP. IV. 1574. not; and they are to give their judgment and opinion thereupon by their subscription and handwrite, for relief of such as shall read such works."

Some complaint having been presented against the Bishop of Dunkeld for the irreverent mode in which he dispensed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Assembly, in conformity with their fundamental principle, that all degrees of ministers were subject to the authority and direction of the whole church, enjoined him to desist from the practice which he had followed, and to conform to the established custom in other churches. They concluded by giving authority to some of their number to call an extraordinary Assembly, in case there should be a meeting of Parliament, or any thing else should occur, appearing to them to require the interposition or counsel of the church. *

Aug.

1575. 5th March. At an Assembly held in March of the following year, the Bishop of Glasgow, as he is denominated in the register, was chosen moderator, a proof that there was as yet no resolution formed to overturn the agreement which had been made at Leith. Some singular acts throwing light upon the state of education and of manners, were passed. It was ordained, that, except in particular cases determined by the Assembly, all persons admitted by the bishops and superintendents to be ministers, should

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 141—144. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 456—467. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life Erskine of Dun, p. 40, and Life of James Lawson, p. 8.

understand the Latin tongue; and it was recommended to those who were deliberating upon the polity of the church, to make provision "that comedies, tragedies, and other profane plays which are not made upon authentic parts of the scripture, should be considered before they were proponed publicly, and that they should not be played on the Sabbath days." * A committee, Melvil being one of the number, was appointed to correspond with the Regent upon the polity and jurisdiction of the church,—an appointment sufficiently proving that both of these were still imperfect or undefined. † CHAP. IV. 1575. March.

First direct steps towards the introduction of Presbytery.

Melvil, who had been assiduous in his endeavours to make an impression upon the leading men in the church, and to induce them to favour the speculations and sentiments which he had brought from Geneva, thought that matters were at length ripe for the first intimation of the revolution which he was eager to effectuate. Sensible of the impropriety of being himself the mover of questions so fraught with interesting consequences, or desirous that these questions should be conceived to have originated in Scotland, he prevailed upon John Drury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to introduce the subject of a change of polity, to the Assembly which met

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 475. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 6. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 114, 115.

† Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 67, 68. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 6.

CHAP. IV.

1575. August.

in August. Accordingly, when, in conformity with the usual practice, the members were proceeding to examine into the lives and doctrine of the bishops, Drury protested that this trial should not prejudge the opinion and reasons which he and other brethren of his mind had to urge against the office and name of a bishop, and he then proceeded to express his doubts respecting the lawfulness of episcopacy, in the usual sense of the word. His amiable character and the acknowledged candour and uprightness of his mind gave efficacy to what he had stated. Melvil, as if he had been ignorant of any design to enter upon such a discussion, with much zeal and ability supported the sentiments which had just been delivered. He expatiated upon the flourishing state of the church at Geneva,—explained the views of ecclesiastical polity which had been sanctioned by Calvin and Beza, men deservedly held in estimation throughout the Protestant world; and having thus prepared his audience, he affirmed, that none ought to be office-bearers in the church whose titles were not found in the book of God,—that, though the appellation of bishop was used in Scripture, it was not to be understood in the sense usually affixed to it, there being no superiority amongst ministers allowed by Christ,—that Jesus was the only Lord of the church, all his servants being equal in degree and in power,—and that the corruptions which had crept into the state of bishops were so great, that, unless they were removed, it

could neither go well with the church, nor could religion be preserved in purity. *

1575. August. Remarks upon Melvil's speech.

These principles merited the most serious consideration, for they not only struck directly at the ecclesiastical arrangements which had been in some degree sanctioned and established, but they tended completely to subvert those maxims by which the reformers had hitherto been invariably guided. Knox, and they who venerated his authority, had avowed the liberal and rational doctrine, that no particular form of church government had been exclusively prescribed by Scripture, and that it was a question of expediency, though a most serious and important one, what form should, under all the circumstances of any one country, be adopted. The tendency of this doctrine was most salutary. It excluded, at least it naturally did so, bigoted attachment to modes and arrangements affecting the constitution of a Christian society, preventing those who embraced it from circumscribing the church of Christ by the narrow limits of a sect or a party, inclining them to consider every church as pure and apostolical which promoted the great ends for which

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 462, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 68. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 147. Spottiswoode, p. 275 and 457. Row's MS. Hist. p. 24. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in the lives of John Drury and Andrew Melville. Petrie's Ecclesiastical Hist. p. 387. Collier, Vol. II. p. 550. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, p. 220, 221. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 211.

CHAP. IV. 1575.

religion was given, enlightening the mind with the doctrines of revelation, and guiding to that renovation of heart and life,—to that moral sanctity which makes men happy here, and prepares them for a more exalted state of existence beyond the grave. Melvil placed the matter upon a very different, and, in the agitated and inflamed condition of mens minds, upon a most alarming foundation. His object plainly was, to support the innovations which he sought to introduce, by the authority of the sacred record, and to represent all by whom they were finally rejected as acting in opposition to the mandates of that record. In short, he introduced that doctrine of the divine right of forms of ecclesiastical polity which exerted in Scotland the malignant influence that might have been anticipated from it; which extinguished the feelings and hardened the hearts of those who gloried in supporting it; which spread all the rancour of exasperated bigotry throughout the community, and gave rise to scenes of intolerance and of persecution, which must, in the course of this history, be exhibited, but from which every humane and Christian spirit must shrink with the strongest disapprobation. *

* Although Knox did not approve of much which was sanctioned by the church of England, he prayed for it, as spreading the light of reformation, and stiled its bishops brethren. Lawson, his successor, though in most respects an amiable and worthy man, thus expressed himself in his last will, and when at the point of death, respecting episcopacy in Scotland:—"He besought his brethren to plant and

1575. August. Report upon the lawfulness of Episcopacy.

These consequences, however, did not suggest themselves to those whom Melvil addressed. They were moved by his zeal, by his eloquence, and by the authorities with which he was fortified, and their own previous discontent at the measures of the Regent, rendered them not averse from yielding to suggestions which they saw might be instrumental in kindling the flame which they were eager to disseminate. They accordingly appointed six of the most learned and respectable of the ministry to discuss the question about the lawfulness of episcopacy, and to make a report to the Assembly. Melvil was one of the three to whom the task of opposing the order of bishops was assigned, and there can be no doubt that he employed all his influence to procure such a declaration as corresponded with his principles. He did not, however, succeed to the full extent of what he must have wished. He probably found that the clergy were not yet prepared for embracing tenets so new, and so hazardous, and he acquiesced in the following report, affording him good ground to hope for a complete triumph. The members nominated to conduct the delicate investigation declared, 1. "That they did not consider it as expe-

advance that holy ecclesiastical discipline in the house of God which is established in his word, and so much the more valiantly and constantly to stand in defence thereof, that Satan his supposts, pseudo-episcopi grievous wolves are entered in, and umpiring as they were lords over God's heritage." Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 58 of Lawson's Life. It is unnecessary to remark how much this illustrates what has been stated in the text.

CHAP. IV. 1575.

dient to answer the question proposed, for the present, that is, to decide upon the lawfulness of episcopacy; but that if any bishop was chosen who had not the qualities required by the word of God, he should be tried by the General Assembly, and deposed from his place. 2. That they judged the name of a bishop to be common to all ministers that had the charge of a particular flock; and that, by the word of God, his chief function consisted in the preaching of the word, the ministration of the sacraments, and exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, with consent of the elders. 3. That from among the ministers some might be chosen to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds, besides their own flock, as the General Assembly might appoint. 4. That the ministers so elected might in those bounds appoint preachers, with the advice of the ministers of that province, and consent of the flock to which they might be admitted; and 5. That they might suspend ministers from the exercise of their office upon reasonable causes, with the consent of the ministers of the bounds."*

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 472, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 69. Spottiswoode, p. 275, 276, who has given very accurately the report of the committee. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 151, 152. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of John Drury, p. 3, and of Andrew Melvil, p. 6—10, in which last part of his work there are some captious objections to the account of Spottiswoode, which is, notwithstanding reluctantly admitted to be very correct. Wodrow is a zealous presbyterian, but, though he reasons with some partiality, he fairly states facts. With these writers may

There is in this report much caution, and it certainly exhibits, in a favourable light, the talents of those by whom it was made. The principle assumed, it was difficult to contest, and after all the controversy which has unhappily taken place upon the subject, it is even now extensively admitted that in scripture the name of bishop is used as they represented. The tendency of the report, however, evidently was to limit the privileges of the bishops and superintendents, to bring them nearer to an equality with their brethren, and to render the advice of the inferior clergy essential. While the declining to decide the general question respecting the lawfulness of episcopacy was surely meant to indicate that they who did so were not favourable to the episcopal function, it is plain, from the whole tenor of the report, that they did not think the existence of that function incompatible with the constitution of a Christian church; and there is clear evidence that the great body of the Assembly had *no* intention, or no wish at this time to adopt, to their utmost extent, the schemes of Melvil. Before the ministers appointed to consider the question of episcopacy had submitted their opinion, the Assembly agreed upon various articles to be presented to the Regent, the great

he compared Collier's' Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 550. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 221, 222, and Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 211, 212. In discussions powerfully affecting prejudices both parties should be consulted.

CHAP. IV. 1575.

object of which was to increase the number of ministers, and to secure the dissemination of knowledge amongst those who were to assume the pastoral office. "They requested that, for planting and preaching the word through the whole kingdom, as many ministers as could be procured might be employed in assisting those ministers who had many churches, and in any other way in which they could be useful,—that superintendents should be appointed in those bounds, where there were no bishops, or to assist such bishops as were unable, from the extent of their dioceses, to discharge the whole of their duty,—and that sufficient salaries should be assigned to all such, without which it would be impossible to induce them to undertake the arduous office of ministers." * This article explains the views of the Assembly as to the existence of bishops, and the sanction which was given to it, might be one cause of the silence observed by the prelates and superintendents who were present, when tenets so hostile to their order were avowed, and in some degree countenanced. It is probable, that they considered those tenets as so much at variance with the sentiments of the reformers, that they would finally be rejected by the church; or

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 149, 150. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I folio, p. 41. For some remarks upon the report of the Ministers about episcopacy, see Calderwood's Hist. p. 69; and compare it with Collier, Vol. II. p. 550, and Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, &c. p. 222, 229.

they trusted that the Regent, who was deeply interested in preserving the established polity, would not yield to innovations which implied its destruction, and which also threatened to interrupt the tranquillity of the state.* But whatever were their motives, their conduct was incompatible with the honest zeal which they should have displayed, and with the duty which they owed to the situations in which they were placed. Had they calmly supported the practice of the reformers from the period of their gaining the ascendancy,—had they pointed out all the danger of adopting speculations so novel and hazardous,—had they reasoned upon the wisdom of continuing united with the Regent, and of patiently pursuing the most likely measures for effectuating the temporal independence which they wished to acquire; there can be little doubt that they would have made a deep impression upon a large part of the Assembly, and they would have been cordially assisted by the civil authority.† By preserving silence, they gave full effect to the representations of Melvil; they exhibited themselves as unwilling, or unable to resist his arguments; and they permitted the members of the Assembly

* Spottiswoode, p. 276, compared with Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 10. Wodrow considers the silence of the bishops as a decisive proof that the whole body of the ministers were as one man against episcopacy. This is not consistent with the articles.

† Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, p. 231.

CHAP. IV.

1575. to disperse, without being furnished with those views which might have enabled them to resist the solicitation and the influence that were unceasingly employed by men who gathered confidence from what they had gained, and who resolved to spare no efforts for carrying into execution their plans of ecclesiastical administration.

1576. New efforts in favour of Presbytery. Melvil embraced the first opportunity of again submitting to the Assembly the question connected with the function of bishops; and although there was still much hesitation about proceeding to extremities, this important addition was made to the former resolutions upon the subject, that the bishops should fix upon some particular congregation, with the care of which they were to be entrusted. *

Conduct of the Regent. The Regent could not fail to turn his attention to these commotions in the church. Upon the arrival of Melvil, either from apprehension of his designs, or respect for his learning and character, he had requested that he might become one of his own chaplains, and, after he had unfolded his principles, Morton offered to give him the rich benefice of Govan, the annual revenue of which was twenty-four chalders of grain, if he would not persist in his opposition to the bishops. Melvil

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 481, 482, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 72. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 151, 155. Spottiswoode, p. 276. Wodrow's MS. Vol. I. folio, p. 41.

CHAP. IV.

1576.

was convinced that the part which he was acting was right, and he was not a man to sacrifice what he conscientiously held to be his duty, for the dishonourable rewards which a departure from that duty would have secured. He without hesitation refused the offer, but he earnestly solicited that the revenue of the benefice might be assigned to the university of Glasgow, over which he presided; and although considerable delay took place, this munificent donation was, in consequence of his interposition, granted to the college.* From this, and from the language which he held, it is evident that the Regent was desirous that Episcopacy should be preserved; but it is not improbable that the dread of taking any step which would have rendered it necessary to restore a large proportion of the patrimony of the church, weakened his efforts for warding off the danger with which it was threatened.†

Whatever were his designs, he made about this period a concession of which Melvil's party imme-

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 456 and 491. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 4. and p. 11. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 43, 44.

† Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 232. This writer endeavours, with some ingenuity, to shew that Morton was really desirous to introduce Presbytery. That this was not the case, is evident from the offer which he made to Melvil, and from his declaring, after it was refused, that Melvil would defraud both himself and the college of such an advantage, by his new opinions and over-sea dreams anent kirk discipline and policy. Wodrow, Vol. I. in Life of Melvil, p. 11.

CHAP. IV. 1576.

diately availed themselves, and which was in the highest degree prejudicial to the bishops. The Assembly, partly to shew their determination to subject all classes of teachers to the church, but under pretence of being offended at the dilapidation of his benefice, deposed the bishop of Dunkeld. Such a violent proceeding they conceived it prudent to report to the Regent, who, exasperated at their conduct, hastily declared, that he did not blame them for punishing the guilty, but that he required them to consider and determine whether they would adhere to the polity which had been framed at Leith, or devise some new form of government by which they would abide. The innovators heard this communication with the warmest satisfaction, and a number of ministers was appointed, amongst whom was Melvil, to prepare overtures for the polity and jurisdiction of the church.*

Presbyterians urge their object.

Fortified with the apparent permission of government to new model the ecclesiastical constitution, Melvil and his friends now proceeded with bolder steps. In successive assemblies held in this and the

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 155, 156. Spottiswoode, p. 276, compared with Calderwood's History, p. 70. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 10. Calderwood dwells with much satisfaction upon this declaration of the Regent, justly considering it as giving the Assembly an option between the Leith agreement and a new polity. The author of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, p. 231.; and Collier, Vol. II. p. 558, admit Calderwood's opinion, but bitterly lament the step taken by the Regent.

two following years, they were employed in digesting their opinions, and composing what was afterwards called the Second Book of Discipline. They communicated the result of their deliberations to the Regent, who, unwilling to retract what he had said, but secretly dissatisfied and irritated by some opposition to his own schemes, started many difficulties, and, by proposing various subjects of discussion, delayed the completion of a work which the zeal of those to whom it was committed would else have much sooner accomplished.* 1576.

While they were thus occupied, they did not forget to humble the bishops, and to make new attacks upon the privileges of that order. The see of St Andrews having become vacant, Morton nominated Patrick Adamson to fill that distinguished situation, and commanded the chapter to proceed with his election. The chapter delayed till they had consulted the general Assembly, and Adamson having refused to submit to the examination and trial which that judicatory required, the chapter was prohibited from choosing him. Notwithstanding this order, however, they, upon receiving a new mandate from the Regent, did elect Adamson; but the Assembly considered this as wrong, and, at a

* Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 156—176. At the instigation of Adamson, no fewer than 42 questions, inserted by Wodrow, in his Life of Melvil, and by Calderwood in his MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 403—507. were proposed to the Assembly by the Regent, and both Calderwood and Wodrow expressly attribute to this the delay which they lament.

CHAP. IV.

1577. Oct. 24.

subsequent meeting, gave commission to certain ministers to summon the archbishop before them, to examine his entry to the said bishopric, and his usurpation of the office of a visitor, with power to suspend him from all further visitation of the diocese, till he be admitted by the Assembly. *

In conformity to the regulation made at a former Assembly, the Archbishop of Glasgow was enjoined to choose a particular flock, and to confine himself to such bounds in his visitation as the church should prescribe to him. The prelate now considered himself as called upon to vindicate the rank which he held. In a letter which he addressed to the Assembly, he stated that he had been installed in the diocese, in terms of the agreement which had, with the consent of all parties, been made at Leith, which agreement was declared to

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 162 and 166, 167.; Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol II. p. 499, 500.; and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 71—76. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 47. Spottiswoode, p. 276, 277. Compare with these Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, &c p. 253. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 218.; and Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 508.

Many points respecting the direction of conduct were at this period proposed to the Assembly. Two of these are mentioned by Calderwood in his MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 501, which, with the decisions of them, will give some idea of the state of manners, and of the kind of business which occasionally was considered. "Question, Whether if a minister or reader may tap ale, beer, or wine, and keep an open tavern? Answered, That their persons be exhorted by the commissioners to keep decorum." "Question, Whether if burial should be in the kirk or not? Answered, Not; and that the contraveners be suspended from the benefit of the kirk till they make public repentance."

be valid till the king's majority, or till it was altered by the estates; that he did not think himself at liberty to change the conditions of his admission, and could not do what was required of him without incurring the guilt of perjury; but that he was willing to preach in such churches in his diocese as they should appoint, it being always understood that he was not confined to these churches, and that he did not in any sort prejudge the jurisdiction which he had received at his admission. This manly resistance produced considerable effect. The reasoning of the prelate it was not easy to overturn, and the persons who were now gaining the ascendancy, knowing that many of the most considerable men in the kingdom were hostile to them, did not esteem it prudent, so early, to insist upon the archbishop doing what they had required. They affected to be influenced by his representation, and they agreed that, till the next Assembly, he should continue to have the inspection of his whole diocese, and that he should, upon the conditions, and in the manner which he had specified, devote himself to a particular congregation.*

Important resolution of the Assembly.

A resolution of this Assembly, which, viewed in itself, appears of little moment, gave rise, at no dis-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 163, 164. The letter is inserted in the Buik. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 501, 502. and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 74. Spottiswoode, p. 276. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, p. 251, 252, and 253. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 558.

CHAP. IV.

1576. tant period to the distinguishing judicatory of the Presbyterian polity. By the First Book of Discipline, meetings of ministers within six miles of the most considerable town of the district, were appointed for interpreting and explaining scripture. These meetings had never been regularly held, and this Assembly, with a view to what afterwards took place, enacted that they should be renewed, enforcing attendance upon them with a severity of censure, which would not have been employed had nothing more than their professed design been contemplated. The scale of punishment to be inflicted upon those who neglected them is very remarkable. For the first offence they were upon their knees, in the presence of the meeting, to confess their offence; for the second they were to make similar submission before the Synodal Assemblies; for the third they were to be cited to the General Assembly, and to submit to the discipline which it enjoined. A gradation was thus formed from the meeting for exercise, as it was styled, to the higher judicatories of the church, while that meeting was invested with certain powers to judge the members of whom it was composed. Such regular assemblies of the ministers, thus sanctioned, would naturally lead to discussions respecting ecclesiastical affairs, and we may consider them not only as the embryos of the Presbyteries, which, several years afterwards, were established, but as powerfully instrumental in giving to the public mind that

October.

direction which Melvil and his active adherents wished it to receive. * CHAP. IV.

The great work of framing an ecclesiastical constitution was carried on with the utmost zeal in the Assemblies of this year. Many discussions upon different parts of the scheme took place, and considerable difficulty was found in uniting the sentiments of those who were employed in framing it; but it was decidedly hostile to the episcopal order, and had, for its object, to carry into effect the principle, that the ministers of religion should not be distinguished from each other by any superiority of rank or power. The Presbyterian party finding that they were gaining ground in the popular estimation, and encouraged by a publication of Beza, in which he taught, that, unless what he called human episcopacy, that is the episcopal form of church government, was rooted out, the most enormous abuses would follow, now compelled the Bishop of Glasgow to take the charge of a particular congregation; they appointed a fast, one of the most powerful means which their predecessors had employed for producing a deep impression on the minds of the people, that supplications might be offered for success to the pious undertaking of establishing perfect order and polity within the church; and they re- 1577.

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 157, 158. Spottiswoode, p. 170, 171. Calderwood, p. 76. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 252. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 635

CHAP. IV. 1577.

solved to present the scheme, upon which, with one slight exception, they had agreed, to the Regent, that he might give to it his approbation. Upon receiving it, he promised to appoint some of the council to meet with the ministers, and he must soon have declared in what manner he was to act with regard to it, had not his attention been engrossed with the difficulties which surrounded himself, and which every day became more formidable. *

Difficulties in which the Regent was involved.

It has been already mentioned, that his government had become unpopular, and, with whatever wisdom he had directed public affairs, discontented or ambitious men would have sought to ingratiate themselves with the monarch, who, although still in the dawn of youth, was beginning to be susceptible of the flattery with which, for interested purposes, he was assailed. His person had been entrusted to Alexander Erskine, the brother of the Earl of Marr, the late Regent, who, on his death-bed, had pointed out his brother as worthy of this important charge. He acted with all the honour which the Earl believed him to possess, guarded the Prince with the most conscientious vigilance, and, by giving to him, as his instruct-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, and Calderwood's History under the year 1577. Calderwood, p. 80. expresses his conviction that the Regent would have declared against the policy. Much information upon this subject is to be found in Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in the Lives of Erskine of Dun, Durie, Craig, and Andrew Melvil.

or, the illustrious Buchanan, took every precau CHAP. IV.
tion which could be adopted for expanding his
mind, and instilling into him those enlightened and 1578.
liberal political principles which that eminent historian has so zealously, and with so much eloquence, stated and enforced. Three other teachers were associated with Buchanan, and a master of the household superintended the domestic arrangements of the Sovereign. These men, from their situation, enjoyed every advantage for influencing the sentiments and feelings of James; and, either from personal dislike to Morton, or from regret that a man, who had become so unpopular, should continue to hold the reins of government, they seem to have formed a scheme for driving him from his exalted station. They were much assisted in this design by an incident, which, when it occurred, did not appear to have any tendency to shake the authority of the Regent. An infamous robber in the country of Argyll, having
committed many ravages, was apprehended by the 1576.
Earl of Athol, and summarily condemned to be put to death. The Earl of Argyll who had, in the former year, succeeded to his brother, of whom so much has been recorded in the history of the Reformation, from that feudal principle which then so powerfully actuated the Scotish nobles, applied to Athol, requesting that the man might be delivered to him. Athol readily consented; but the miscreant, confirmed in his wick-

CHAP. IV.

1578.

ed habits, was no sooner at liberty than he was guilty of new atrocities. Provoked by such conduct, Athol demanded of Argyll that so dangerous and depraved a member of society should not be screened from punishment; and, having obtained no answer, he collected forces, that, agreeably to the turbulent maxims of these times, he might make war upon Argyll. The Regent having been informed of this daring contempt of the authority of government, most wisely and vigorously interfered, compelled the two Earls to disband their troops, and summoned them to answer for what had happened. The common danger which now threatened them, for they were secretly informed that the Regent intended to proceed against them with severity, led to a reconciliation, and produced feelings preparing them to join in any scheme by which the authority of the Earl of Morton might be weakened or destroyed.*

The Regent resigns.

Marr, and the junto who surrounded him, having heard of the agreement between the earls, determined to render it subservient to the accomplishment of their plan against the Regent. Argyll and Athol were, in succession, invited to Stirling, and having joined in representing to the King the ri-

* MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 167—169. Spottiswoode's History, p. 278. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 101, 102. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 125. Calderwood, p. 80. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1141.

gour of Morton's administration, urged him to call a meeting of the nobility, to judge of the complaints which they had submitted to him. The advice was framed to captivate the Prince, and delight him with the idea, so natural to a young mind, of assuming the exercise of sovereignty; he at once complied with it, and he ordered letters to be issued, calling a convention of the nobles to be held at Stirling. The Regent was soon advertised that Argyll and Athol had obtained access to the King, and had prevailed on him to take the step which has been mentioned; and, in the first emotions of surprise and indignation, he unguardedly laid himself open to the men, against whose artifices his regard for his own interest, and the duty which he owed to the kingdom, should have induced him to watch. He instantly sent the Earl of Angus, Lord Glammis the chancellor, and Lord Ruthven, the treasurer, to state to the King all the circumstances connected with the measures which had been adopted against Argyll and Athol, and to point out the consequences which might be apprehended, if such daring contempt of his Majesty's authority should pass without notice or reprehension; and, either instigated by Randolph, who had a little before arrived in Scotland, to strengthen the influence of Morton, or from his own persuasion that he would thus most effectually open the eyes of the King to the danger of the policy which he was adopting, he instructed his commissioners

CHAP. IV. 1578. March 10.

CHAP. IV. 1578.

to declare, that, if his highness would allow him to follow the course of law, he might do his duty, but that if his majesty thought proper to overlook the disobedience of the two earls, he would be pleased to disburden him of his office, and not suffer his own name and authority to be despised in the person of his servant. This message was highly gratifying to the enemies of the Regent. They urged the King to act upon it; and, disposed to listen to counsels so flattering to his vanity, he informed Morton, by the chancellor and Lord Herries, that, by the advice of his nobility, he had determined to accept the rule, and required him immediately to send his resignation. He accompanied this, however, with a promise, that, for the discharge of his administration, every allowance would be made, and with a private letter, in which he expressed the warmest regard and affection for Morton, assuring him that he would ever esteem him as one of his true and faithful counsellors. *

The King's assumption of the supreme power
March 12. was intimated at Stirling, and next day openly proclaimed at Edinburgh; Morton, himself, in no enviable state of mind, assisting at the ceremony, and publicly bearing testimony that he had demitted the Regency. The intelligence of this strange and

* Spottiswoode, p. 279, 280. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 172, 173. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 126. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 522, 523. Crawford's Life of Morton, in Lives of Officers of State, p. 103, 104. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 49.

hasty resolution, filled his friends with amazement and anguish. Lord Boyd, one of his most steady adherents, bitterly reproached him, and pointed out, with admirable sagacity, the evils which would probably result from so hazardous a step. Morton felt the force of what was urged, and secretly lamented his precipitation; but, as what was past could not be recalled, he prepared himself to defeat the malice of his enemies, and to prevent the calamities which Boyd had led him to expect. He, for these purposes, entreated that his conduct as Regent might be formally approved. This was most readily, and probably, on the part of the King, most sincerely granted; the approbation was conveyed in the strongest language; it was ratified by those who surrounded the monarch, and was declared to be irrevocable. Morton, however, soon found that the honour of a court was a broken reed, and that he had much cause to dread the misfortunes against which all the security which principle and justice could afford to him had been obtained.*

Remarks upon the resignation of Morton.

The resignation of Morton was, under all the circumstances of the kingdom, an unhappy event

* Spottiswoode as last quoted. The discharge or approbation is given at full length by Crawford, in his Lives of Officers of State, p. 104, 105. There is nothing more disgusting in the annals of human conduct, than the flagrant violation of every honourable principle, by men affecting to feel the keenest sensibility to the purity of their integrity.

CHAP. IV.

1578.

for Scotland. Although he had succeeded in restoring tranquillity to the country, there were no settled habits of subordination; the elements of faction were widely dispersed, and the slightest cause was sufficient to produce a convulsion. The tender age of the sovereign was of itself sufficient to give rise to the most unhappy contentions. His judgment was yet unable to guide him, he was compelled to listen to those who obtained access to his person, and the measures which he followed were justly considered as those of the faction enjoying momentary ascendancy, which might, without any disrespect to the King, be counteracted or opposed. It is then imposible to vindicate the patriotism of the men who succeeded in removing the Regent from his high situation. Had they confined themselves to a careful observance of his conduct,—had they remonstrated against what they condemned, and proposed with firmness what they wished to be adopted, they might have improved the situation of the people, whilst they continued the reins of government in the steady hand requisite for directing them.

With regard to the church, Morton's resignation was followed by consequences which long deeply affected the political state and tranquillity of Great Britain. Although, from his connection with England, and his general views of policy, he was disposed to preserve episcopacy, he was esteemed by the reformers as the steady friend of

religion, for he had uniformly supported the Reformation, and had materially contributed to the victory which it fortunately acquired. His personal influence was thus very considerable, and, while he remained at the head of affairs, it was not possible to circulate the apprehension which was suggested by Beza, and for which there was afterwards some ground, that prelacy was regarded in Scotland as a step to Popish superstition. Had he, therefore, retained the regency, and succeeded in weakening or destroying the factions which were hostile to him, he would have had many advantages for modifying or directing the views of those who were unfriendly to the bishops; and he might have prevented that exasperation of spirit which became so conspicuous in the proceedings of subsequent Assemblies. By his demission the adherents of Presbytery gained a vast accession of strength; and, instead of having to fear the resistance of a vigorous government, they were now certain that the state would be weakened by the formation of parties striving to engross the royal favour, and that, amidst the contest of those parties, they might not only steadily pursue their object, but render concession to themselves essential for the stability of the throne. We shall accordingly find, that, after the resignation of Morton, they assumed a more decisive tone; shewed less anxiety about conciliating those in power; and did not stop till they had introduced, upon the footing of divine institution, that Presby-

1578.

CHAP. IV.

1578.

terian polity which the divines of Geneva so powerfully recommended, and which has ultimately proved itself eminently adapted for preserving political freedom, for defending the truths of religion, and for conveying, in a most impressive manner, to the great part of the community, that interesting instruction which all ecclesiastical orders and systems were intended, or should have been intended, to impart. *

* Spottiswoode, p. 283. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 80. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of John Durie, p. 18. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined and disproved, p. 255, 256.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

Conduct of Morton....Death of Glammis, the Chancellor ....Morton regains his influence over the King....Measures adopted by the General Assembly....Steps taken by the Estates with respect to the new plan of Ecclesiastical Polity....Short Analysis of that Polity....Remarks upon it....Proceedings of the Assembly....Intemperate zeal of Melvil....The King's Letter to the Assembly.... A Parliament....Policy recommended by Morton....The King becomes attached to two favourites....Suspicions entertained regarding the principles and views of Lennox....Method taken by him to remove them....Apprehensions of popery....Negative Confession of Faith composed by order of the King....Schemes against the Earl of Morton....Interference of Elizabeth for his preservation ineffectual...He is tried and condemned ...His conference with the Ministers by whom he was attended....His Character.

CHAP. V.

1578. Conduct of Morton.

As the King had not attained his twelfth year when he assumed the reins of government, he selected a council to manage the affairs of the state. Actuated as the persons who composed it were by enmity to Morton, they disregarded the solemn agreement between him and the sovereign, and harassed him with demands which plainly shewed that they would not hesitate, if an opportunity occurred, to effectuate his destruction. He acted, however, with consummate address. Far from

CHAP. V.

1578.

breaking forth in the violence of complaint, he returned the mildest answers to the messages which were sent to him, and satisfied the King of the propriety of his conduct. *

Death of Glammis the Chancellor.

An unfortunate accident happened during these negociations. Lord Glammis, the chancellor, who was one of those sent to Morton, when he was passing along the streets of Stirling, to make his report at the castle, met, in a narrow passage, the Earl of Crawford. Both were accompanied by numerous followers, and, as there had long subsisted a feud between their families, they maintained to each other the utmost coldness and reserve. The prudent distance of the chiefs excited in their adherents the desire of fomenting disturbance; and, in consequence of some interference, a contest arose, at the beginning of which the chancellor was accidentally killed. This event strengthened antipathies which should have been extinguished, and led to melancholy anticipation of the troubles which, under a feeble administration, there was so much cause to dread. Glammis was much lamented. He had conducted himself with the most delicate propriety in the high office which he held, and he had ingratiated himself with many of the ministers, by the attention which he paid to the questions in which they were so deeply interested. He was desirous to

* Spottiswoode, p. 282, 283. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 126. Life of Morton, in Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 105, 106. Crawford of Drumsoy's Memoirs, p. 296, 297.

gratify them, by introducing that equality amongst them for which they were eagerly contending; but, unable to remove his doubts about the lawfulness of cutting off, by the extinction of bishops, one of the estates of the realm, he had entered into a correspondence with Beza, that he might obtain the sentiments of that eminent reformer. *

Morton retired to the castle of Lochlevin, affecting that abstraction from public affairs which was equally foreign to his habits and his dispositions; and, whilst he employed himself in the innocent pursuits of rural life, he anxiously hoped for some opportunity of again being introduced to the intrigues and the direction of a court. † He was soon gratified. The Abbots of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, two of the persons who had been appointed to superintend the education of the King, were zealously attached to the family of Marr; and, either dreading that it was the intention of Alexander Erskine, the guardian of the Sovereign, to invade the rights of his nephew, the young Earl, or instigated by Morton, who considered Erskine as chiefly instrumental in bringing about his resignation of the regency, they took possession of the castle of Stirling, and, putting out the keeper and his attendants, introduced men who took an

Morton regains his influence over the King.

* Spottiswoode, p. 283. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 529. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 17. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 49. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 126. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 139.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 126.

CHAP. V.

1578. oath of fidelity to the Earl of Marr. This violent step was not displeasing to the King, for he prohibited the council from interfering by force, as they had intended, and asked them to come in a few days to assist him in what he represented as merely a family difference. Morton was, upon this occasion, invited to attend his Sovereign; he was received with the utmost respect, and he presided
10th June. at a council held some time after, preparatory to a parliament which had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh in July.* After the council was concluded, the members returned to Edinburgh; but Morton, determined to improve the advantage which he had gained by the removal of Erskine from the King's person, immediately returned, and prevailed upon James to issue a proclamation, commanding the parliament to assemble at Stirling. The access which Morton had thus obtained to the King, and the influence which it was evident that he still possessed, spread dissatisfaction through many of the nobility; and the Earl of Athol, who, upon the death of Lord Glammis, had been invested with the office of chancellor, put himself at the head of the faction which opposed the measures of the court. This
25th July. faction adopted the bold resolution of protesting against the parliament, and the Earl of Montrose, with Lord Lindsay, was sent to take this step.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of John Drury, p. 9.

CHAP. V.

They attended in the great hall of the castle, where the meeting was held, listened to the King's speech, and, when it was concluded, they, in the name of the council, and of those lords who adhered to them, objected to the lawfulness of the parliament, because it was held within the castle, a place of strength in possession of their enemies, and to which they could not in safety repair. These two noblemen, having been confined to their lodgings, were prohibited to leave Stirling without permission from the King; but one of them escaped to Edinburgh, carrying, it has been believed, a message from James to the chancellor, entreating to be delivered from the power of Morton. Matters now seemed fast hastening to a civil war.—Both parties gathered forces, both were resolved to unsheath the sword, when the interference of an ambassador sent by Elizabeth prevented so dreadful a calamity. An agreement through his mediation took place, and the armies were dispersed. *

1578. Aug.

Measures adopted by the General Assembly. 24th April.

During these struggles of party, Melvil and his friends steadily prosecuted the design of compiling their scheme of ecclesiastical polity. In the Assembly which was held a few days after Morton had

* Spottiswoode, p. 285—287. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 126, 127. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 535; and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 92. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 100—101, and 130. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 171—177. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 300—302. Camden's Annals, p. 278, 279. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, 1141—1145.

CHAP. V. 1578.

retired to a private station, of which Assembly Melvil was Moderator, the ministers who had been appointed to wait upon the Regent reported what they had done, and the whole book of discipline was anew sanctioned. With the view of humbling and mortifying the bishops, it was enacted, that bishops and all others bearing ecclesiastical function, should, in time coming, be called by their own names, or brethren; and at a following session it was resolved, for restraining corruption, that no bishops should be elected before the next Assembly, and the chapters were discharged from taking any steps towards an election, under pain of perpetual deprivation from office. Although this was a temporary act, it indicated not only the resolution to extirpate, as soon as possible, the Episcopal order, but that the Presbyterians were becoming daily more confident of their strength, and more determined not to be restrained by the civil power; for they here, in fact, assumed the exercise of the legislative authority, proceeding upon the hazardous principle, that, in whatever concerned the church, they were not amenable to the sovereign.

They also shewed their resolution to watch over the principles of public men, and to sound the alarm when they suspected any design to restore the Popish faith. They complained to the persons sent by the king to represent him in the Assembly, that several distinguished individuals who had been raised to high offices, were supposed to be attached

to the ancient faith. Being required by his Majesty's commissioners, they named as unfriendly to the Protestant establishment, the Earl of Athol, the chancellor, the Earl of Caithness, and Lord Ogilbie, and they appointed some ministers to admonish them to subscribe the tenets of the Reformed Church. Caithness requested to see the articles to which he was required to assent; Lord Ogilbie declared that he had formerly subscribed them and taken the sacrament, and was willing to do so again; but the Chancellor not having been accessible to the ministers, the session of the church which he attended was enjoined to remonstrate with him, and, if he did not give a satisfactory answer, to proceed against him with spiritual censures. 1578.

The system of polity was ordered to be presented to the king and council, by the same persons who had communicated it to the Regent, and a fast was ordained to be observed for a week, on "account of the corruption which prevailed amongst all classes of men, the coldness of a great part of the professors of religion, the increase of fearful sins and enormities, domestic sedition and divisions, the bloody conclusions of the cruel councils of that Roman beast, tending to the extermination of true religion, and that God of his mercy would bless the King's highness and his government, and put it in his heart and in the hearts of the estates of parliament not only to make and establish good laws for the government of the realm, but also to establish such

CHAP. V. 1578.

a polity and discipline in the church as is craved in the word of God, and is conceived and penned already, to be presented to his highness and council."*

The act respecting the fast is a very important document. It points out the topics upon which, during the continuance of this solemnity, the ministers were to enlarge, and discloses the maxims and principles which were to be represented as essential to the liberties or the existence of the reformed church in Scotland. It is plainly avowed, that the polity which had been framed was to be supported by the express authority of Scripture, and to be held forth as claiming the reverence of all sincere Christians. It was also, with admirable address, connected with the purity of the reformed faith; for, after a statement of the enormities of the Pope, and of General Councils, the adoption of the polity is prescribed as the effectual mode of securing the country against these enormities. Of this connection, as we shall find, much use was made at a subsequent period; and it is important to notice the first approaches to it, and the origin of those modes of thinking, from the existence of which every deviation from Presbytery, and every attempt to re-

* Calderwood's MSS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 526—530, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 80—82. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 177—183. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 42, and Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 17. Collier, Vol. II. p. 560. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery, p. 258—260. The author of this work exhibits the sentiments of the zealous advocates of episcopacy, with respect to the proceedings now recorded.

store episcopacy were identified in the estimation of the majority of the community in Scotland, with disguised enmity to the Reformation itself.

As it was known that parliament was to assemble in July, and as it was of great moment that, previous to this, the Assembly should complete the arrangements connected with the polity, another meeting was appointed to be held at the distance of only a few weeks; and it accordingly took place at Stirling in June. One of the first steps was to solicit the king to send some of the council to assist the Assembly; and, after several preliminary discussions respecting the nature and powers of this Assembly, the temporary act against the election of bishops was taken into consideration. It might have been supposed that the ministers would have delayed continuing such an act till they had communicated their intention to parliament. With total disregard, however, to the intentions of the civil power, it was unanimously agreed, that the act should be extended to all time coming, until the corruption of the estate of bishops was utterly taken away; and the bishops who were already recognized, were ordered, under pain of excommunication, to submit themselves entirely to the General Assembly.*

But the chief business of this Assembly was to ascertain the sentiments of the king with regard to

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 538. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 17. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 51.

CHAP. V.

1578.

the polity. Erskine of Dun, and the other ministers who had been commissioned to lay it before him, reported that they had presented it to him,—that he had received them graciously,—that he had promised to be a procurator for the kirk, concurring with them in all things that might advance religion,—and that he had laid the polity and the supplication which accompanied it before the council, in consequence of which a conference had taken place, the substance of which was produced and read.*

Steps taken by the Parliament with regard to the polity.

But notwithstanding the favourable speech of the Sovereign, the church did not obtain that ratification of the polity which seems to have been confidently expected. An act of parliament was indeed passed in the form usual at the accession of the regents, or upon any change in the administration of government, confirming all the statutes in favour of the true church; some indulgence was granted to the ministers in exempting their glebes from the payment of tithes; but upon the ground that the time which the meeting of parliament commonly exhausted, was too limited for the full discussion of so large a work as the Second Book of Discipline, the estates referred that discussion to several of their number, instructing them to meet with the commissioners of the Assembly, and if they did agree, to insert the agreement amongst the acts of

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 184--186. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 42.

parliament. A conference accordingly took place after the dissolution of parliament, and another at the conclusion of the year, but nothing was fixed; the friends of the court objecting to whatever appeared to interfere with the prerogatives of the crown.* 1578.

Short analysis of the polity.

The scheme of polity thus presented to the King and Parliament was the work of much labour and anxious deliberation.† It was maturely discussed by successive Assemblies; it was repeatedly altered and corrected; and it may be considered as containing the most authentic detail of the opinions and practices which Melvil was labouring to introduce. Much of it is nearly the same with the First Book of Discipline, but it is necessary to mention the leading points in which it differed from what Knox and the early reformers had composed and sanctioned. It is divided into thirteen chapters, each of which is devoted to a particular branch of the ecclesiastical constitution. At the commencement, it distinguishes between the civil and the spiritual power: affirms that Christ alone can be properly styled the head of the church, and that they who bear office

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Robert Pont, p. 10, 11. Calderwood's Hist. p. 82, 83. A particular account of the conference in December, is given in Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 569—577, and in Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. quarto, Appendix N, to Life of Erskine of Dun. Black Acts, folio 1, 2, 3, quoted in the continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1148.

† Ample information respecting the care with which it was composed is to be found in Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in the Lives of Erskine, Pont, and Melvil.

CHAP. V. 1578.

in it ought not to usurp dominion, or to be called lords, but ministers, disciples, and servants; that the magistrate ought to assist, maintain, and fortify, the jurisdiction of the church; that ministers should assist princes in all things consistent with Scripture; and that, as ministers are subject to the punishment and judgment of magistrates in external things, magistrates ought to submit themselves to the discipline of the church, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion. In the chapter which treats of the general polity of the church, and of the persons to whom the administration of it should be committed, a line is drawn between the clergy and the laity; the different kinds of ministers are enumerated; it is observed, that, for avoiding tyranny, they should rule with mutual consent of brethren, and equality of power; that there are four ordinary offices or functions in the church of God, the minister or bishop, the doctor, the presbyter or elder, and the deacon; that no more offices should be suffered in the true church; and that therefore all ambitious titles, invented in the kingdom of Antichrist, and his usurped hierarchy, which are not comprehended under these four, ought to be rejected. It is asserted that there is an extraordinary and an ordinary call to enter on the ministry,—the former proceeding from God himself, and exemplified in the case of the apostles and prophets,—the latter consisting in the approbation of men according to the order established, without which it is not lawful

for any person to meddle in any ecclesiastical function; that this approbation comprehends election and ordination,—the choice of a particular person by the eldership and congregation, and the setting apart of this person, after proper trial, by prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the eldership; that all the office-bearers thus called should have their particular flocks, should reside amongst them, superintend them, and take only such titles as are to be found in Scripture, * This subject is more particularly discussed in a subsequent chapter, in which it is declared that pastors, bishops, or ministers, are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the word of God, and over which they watch; in respect whereof they are sometimes called pastors, because they feed their congregations; sometimes episcopi or bishops, because they watch over their flocks; sometimes ministers, by reason of their service or office; sometimes also presbyters, or seniors, for the gravity of manners which they ought to have, as taking care of the spiritual government, which should be most dear to them. The duties of ministers are then distinctly specified. Doctors are those who explain the Scriptures without making practical applications as the pastor; and under this class is comprehended the order in colleges and universities, which, it is said, ought to be carefully maintained. Elders are mentioned as a

* In the First Book of Discipline imposition of hands in ordination was laid aside.

CHAP. V. 1578.

perpetual order in a Christian church, whose duty it is to assist the pastor in preserving a regard to religion and morality amongst the people; to admonish men of their duties; and principally to hold assemblies with the pastors and doctors, to which assemblies all persons are subject that remain within the bounds assigned to the ministers who compose these assemblies. A most interesting chapter follows, delineating the constitution of a presbyterian church, and, of course, exhibiting that polity which was designed for Scotland. Elderships, it is said, are commonly constituted of pastors, doctors, and such as are usually called elders, who labour not in word and doctrine. The powers and duties of these elderships are enumerated, and the views of the Assembly with regard to them are thus summed up: It belongs to them to cause the ordinances made by superior assemblies to be put in execution, and to make constitutions for the decent order of the particular churches which they govern, provided they alter not rules made by the higher assemblies. This is evidently the court to which the name of presbytery was afterwards appropriated, and from which the Scotish church has received its appellation.

Synods and General Assemblies are then appointed, and their provinces defined. This gradation of judicatories formed the polity which parliament was required to sanction. There is a section respecting the patrimony of the church, in which

the parts composing that patrimony are specified, and it is declared, that to take any of these parts by unlawful means, and to convert it to the particular and profane use of individuals, is sacrilege before God. Out of this fund, however, it is ordained that teachers should be well supported, and, with that laudable anxiety for the education of the community which so honourably distinguished Knox and the compilers of the First Book of Discipline, it is prescribed, as one duty of the magistrate towards the church, to see that sufficient provision be made for schools. A long catalogue is given of abuses remaining in the church, which were to be reformed. Admission to papistical titles of benefices, such as abbots and priors, which have no place in the reformed church of Christ, is proscribed; chapters of convents, abbey churches, and cathedrals, are done away; plurality of benefices is condemned and prohibited; pastors, under whatsoever titles, and especially the abused titles in Popery, of prelates, chapters, and convents, are prohibited from doing any thing in the name of the church, either in parliament or in council, without the commission of the reformed church in Scotland. There are added, what are entitled special heads to be reformed, none of which, although some of them were of great importance, it is necessary here to insert; and the whole concludes with a dissertation upon the advantages which would result to religion, to the church, and to the government, were

CHAP. V.

the scheme so fully unfolded to be confirmed by the legislature. *

1578. Remarks upon the form of polity.

When we compare this minute delineation with the very few incidental injunctions upon ecclesiastical government which are given by the sacred writers of the New Testament, it appears astonishing, that any degree of partiality for their system, or any degree of admiration of it, could have led intelligent and learned men to adopt the fundamental maxim which they avow, that the whole of the scheme was not merely agreeable to the word of God, but expressly authorized and enjoined by divine authority. But when we throw out of sight this radical error, from which so much evil afterwards arose, and examine the polity upon its own merits, it may be admitted, even by those who turn the principle of divine institution against it, that there is in it much which is truly excellent, and many proofs of the vigorous and sound views of the persons by whom it was framed. Proceeding upon the just ground, that the great design of every ecclesiastical establishment should be to disseminate, in the most effectual manner, the doctrines and

* Spottiswoode, p. 289—302, has inserted the form of polity, putting in the margin the resolutions upon the different articles at the conference in December, for which Calderwood's MSS. and Wodrow's Appendix, as before quoted, may be consulted. Calderwood's History, under the year 1581, when it was ordered to be registered. Row's MS. Hist. p. 10. A very accurate copy of it is inserted in MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 75—102. Collier, Vol. II. p. 563—56 , has also given the polity, with some remarks.

the precepts of religion, and to afford the most effectual aid for the formation of a pious and virtuous character, it provides an efficient and resident clergy, unites them with the people whom they were to comfort and instruct, whilst it takes every precaution against the interesting office of the ministry being intrusted to men who had not received that liberal education, and attained that proficiency in human science, which, in the ordinary state of the church, are necessary for successfully explaining and defending the records of revelation. Taking into view the imperfection of human judgment, and the hazard of its being perverted by prejudice or passion, it does not leave the absolute decision of any important point to one man, or to one society of men, but, constituting a regular gradation of judicatories to which all had access, it gives every security which could be afforded for the examination of whatever affects the character or the happiness of those who acknowledge its authority. It is also framed with the most tender regard to the community, representing ministers as bound to labour for its welfare, as men who should devote their time and their talents to advance the moral and religious improvement of all ranks with which they are connected. This had a great effect in rendering it popular, and in gaining for it that zealous support, which, when struggling for existence, it invariably received. And it is most favourable to the prevalence of that political liberty, and that inde-

CHAP. V. 1578.

pendence of mind which cannot be too highly valued. It accustomed those amongst whom it was to be established to habits of reflection, and to the exercise of their understandings upon subjects which deeply interested their feelings and their comfort, and thus prevented that debasement, and that implicit submission to authority, upon which despotism must rest. It was this feature of it which alarmed the sovereigns of Scotland, and excited the jealousy with which they constantly regarded it. They conceived that it was incompatible with the existence of monarchy, and endeavoured to substitute a system which they could more easily control. It did certainly carry with it the elements of freedom; and we shall find, that to it we are in a great measure indebted for those limitations of the executive power which have placed the throne on the affections of the people, and have led to the most admirable form of government, which has ever been hitherto introduced amongst mankind.

Proceedings in the Assembly after the Parliament, Oct.

The General Assembly met in October, several months after the Parliament, and an early opportunity was taken to express the severe disappointment of its leading members, that the discipline had not been ratified by the legislature. Having prevailed upon the Chancellor and several of the nobility who were hostile to Morton, to attend the Assembly, the Moderator addressed to them a long account of the measures which the church had adopted, mentioned how much reason they had

from the King's answer, to believe that the request of the Assembly would have been granted; and after lamenting that this had not taken place, he solicited them to exert their influence in procuring the sanction of the estates to the ecclesiastical polity, in getting the thirds restored to the church, and in effecting several other reformations, which he specified. The Chancellor, and they who accompanied him, made a guarded reply, professed the utmost reverence for the religion then established, and recommended that a petition for obtaining what was wished should be presented to the King and Council, which petition they promised to support.* 1578.

But although the Assembly was fully aware that the book of discipline had not been incorporated with the laws of the kingdom, and consequently that, the agreement at Leith being still unrepealed, the bishops formed an essential branch of parliament, this did not arrest the progress of the members, or suspend their resolution to proceed against the prelates, as decisively as if the civil power had for this purpose vested them with the most ample authority. They abolished the use of the title of bishop in their records, and they called upon the Archbishop of Glasgow, whom they stiled Commissioner for Kyle and Carric, to submit to the Assembly, and to suffer the corruptions of the episcopal

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 188—190. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 83, 84.

CHAP. V.

1578.

state to be reformed in his person. The Archbishop shrunk from what he conceived to be the most shameful degradation, and the exercise of the most illegal and arbitrary jurisdiction. He resisted the injunction, and having been enjoined to deliver his answer, he with much firmness said; "I understand the name, office, and reverence given to a bishop, to be lawful and allowable, and being elected by the church and king to be Bishop of Glasgow, I esteem my calling and office lawful, and shall endeavour with all my power to perform the duties required, submitting myself to the judgment of the church, if I shall be found to offend against what the apostle has prescribed. As to the rent, living, and privileges granted to me and my successors, I think I may lawfully and with a good conscience enjoy the same, and for assisting the King with my best service in council and parliament, as my subjection ties me thereto; so I esteem it no hurt but a benefit to the church, that some of our number should be always present at the making of laws and statutes, wherein for myself I neither intend, nor by the grace of God shall ever do any thing but that which I believe may stand with the purity of the word of God, and the good of the church and country." *

* I have with a few slight alterations quoted the Archbishop's defence, from Spottiswoode, p. 333, having compared it with the account in the Buik of the Universal Kirk, and with that in Calderwood, both of which are substantially the same.

This moderate and judicious defence of himself, and his order, was far from proving satisfactory to the General Assembly; he was ordered to reflect upon the subject, and to state the result in the afternoon. This he declined, and withdrew from the Assembly; upon which a commission was given to Melvil, and several of the most zealous of the Presbyterian faction, to urge his subscription to that act, which required the complete submission of bishops to the Assembly.* 1578.

They next proceeded against Adamson the Archbishop of St Andrews, and, as he was not present, they appointed a deputation to receive his answer to their demands, to urge him to submission, and in case of his not complying, to proceed against him by admonition and excommunication. † To guard against any mistake about the extent of the submission required, and to prevent any indulgence, the Assembly passed a celebrated act, enumerating the abuses, upon the removal of which the Presbyterians insisted. They resolved, 1. That bishops should be content to be ministers and pastors of a flock. 2. That they should not usurp any criminal jurisdiction. 3. That they should not vote in par-

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. under 1578. Spottiswoode, p. 303. Calderwood's Hist. p. 87. Fundamental Charter, &c. p. 262, 263.

† Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 85. Spottiswoode, p. 303.

CHAP. V. 1578.

liament in name of the Church, unless they had a commission from the General Assembly. 4. That they should not take up for the maintenance of their ambition and riotousness, the rents which might sustain many pastors, schools, and poor, but be content with a reasonable living, according to their office. 5. That they should not claim to themselves the title of Lords Temporal, neither usurp temporal jurisdiction, whereby they are abstracted from their charge. 6. That they should not rule over the particular elderships, but be subject to the same. 7. That they should not usurp the power of the presbyteries. Lastly, That they should take no farther bounds of visitation than the church committed to them. *

These articles it may be thought struck with sufficient energy against the episcopal order, but the persons by whom they were framed, apprehensive that they might have omitted some abuse inconsistent with their notions of parity, were not satisfied with insisting upon subscription to what they had specified, for, with total disregard to candour and equity, they inserted, in the preamble of the act, that if the Assembly should afterwards

* Compare Buik of the Universal Kirk and Calderwood, p. 85, with Spottiswoode, p. 303. The Archbishop, with natural veneration for his order, has softened the 1th article, omitting the word riotousness, and has added as an article what was contained in the preamble to the act.

find farther corruption in the estate of bishops, the prelates must consent that such corruption should be rectified according to the word of God, that is, according to the maxims which the Presbyterians had adopted.* CHAP. V. 1578.

After the manly conduct of the venerable Archbishop of Glasgow, whose spirits were depressed, and his health impaired by domestic misfortunes, and by the perilous proceedings which he deplored, he might have been permitted in peace to descend to the grave; but Melvil, in execution of the commission which had been given to him, incessantly urged the prelate to submission, threatening, if he did not comply, to inflict the severest censures of the church. In one of those moments of weakness, produced by the operation of a mortal disease, the archbishop affixed his signature. The recollection of this disturbed the serenity of his mind, but the representations of one of his clergy at length soothed his anguish, and with tranquillity he met dissolution. The ingratitude of Melvil powerfully affected him. He had been his friend and his patron; he had placed him in the university of Glasgow, and bestowed on him many favours; but, although Melvil treated him in private with 1579. Intemperate zeal of Melvil.

* Calderwood and Book of the Universal Kirk, as last quoted. Calderwood in his MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 593, 594, speaks in strong language of the piety and love of truth displayed in the Assemblies which opposed prelacy; episcopal writers express themselves very differently. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 64, 65.

CHAP. V. 1579.

the utmost reverence, he in public reviled him, and he invaded his retirement, when a feeling mind should have regarded that retirement as sacred. There is nothing more painful in the investigation of the history of man, than to trace the unhappy influence of political or religious contention upon the most amiable dispositions of the heart; but the exhibition of this influence should, from no motives of respect or of reverence be withheld, for it tends to convey the most salutary moral lessons, and to render history, what it should always be, the school of virtue. *

Melvil had also, about this period, suggested or

* Spottiswoode, p. 303. Collier, Vol. II. p. 568. Calderwood, p. 57, mentions, that the submission of the archbishop, to which Spottiswoode alludes, was given in to the Assembly. Wodrow in his Life of Melvil, MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 495, and Vol. XIV. quarto, endeavours to vindicate Melvil from the charge of ingratitude to the Archbishop of Glasgow, passing over, however, the harsh manner in which Melvil acted in obtaining the subscription. He chiefly rests upon this, that the Archbishop was not the chief instrument in bringing Melvil to Glasgow. The whole apology appears to me unsatisfactory; and I presume that it appeared so at length to Wodrow himself, for, in addition to the Life of Melvil, in the quarto copy, he inserts, from James Melvil's MS. diary, the following passage. "By the most earnest instance of Mr James Boyd, lately made Archbishop of Glasgow, and Mr Andrew Hay, he obtained of the Assembly, and of some of his friends there present, that he should come and visit Glasgow, and see the beginnings of a college there, and have what conditions should be offered to him, that if he liked he should abide with them." This is decisive as to the part that Boyd had in Melvil's settlement, and it is evidently the intention of the writer to represent Boyd as having conferred a favour. He adds, "Boyd was a good man, and lover of learning and learned men."

countenanced the barbarous scheme of pulling down the magnificent cathedral of Glasgow; urging that its continuance fostered superstition, and that the materials might be much more usefully employed in building a number of small churches in different parts of the city, for the accommodation of the inhabitants. The magistrates had agreed to the plan, and a day had been fixed for commencing the work of demolition. When, however, the workmen were assembling, the inhabitants ran to arms, swearing, that whoever pulled down a stone, should be buried under it. The magistrates were thus compelled to relinquish the attempt, and the venerable fabric was saved. Indignant at the outrage so honourable to the feelings and the taste of the people, they brought it before the council, but the King espoused the cause of the rioters, saying, that too many churches had already been pulled down, and that he would not tolerate any more abuses of that kind. * CHAP. V. 1579.

The resolutions of the last Assembly were so directly in opposition to all law and civil authority, that they could not fail to attract the notice, and to call for the interference of government. Accordingly, at the next meeting a letter was presented The King's letter to the Assembly, 6th July.

* Spottiswoode, p. 304. The fact is so minutely related, and was of such a nature, that there can be little hesitation in assenting to it, and it may indeed be considered as confirmed by the silence of Wodrow.

CHAP. V. 1579.

from the King, requesting the members to arrest further proceedings, and to maintain for some time the ecclesiastical establishment, which still enjoyed the protection of the state. In this letter his Majesty earnestly desired, that, during his minority, and at a period of much difficulty, the Assembly would direct its efforts to preserve peace in the fear of the Lord, and would yield due subjection to the crown. He alludes very delicately to the subject in which the ministers were so much interested, intimates his wish that they would not interfere with the polity till the meeting of Parliament, which was soon to take place, and assures them that the points which had been referred for further deliberation, would be then discussed and settled. This letter, which they received, as it is mentioned in the register, with all humility, ordering it to be recorded, they considered as very unfavourable. They contrasted it with the answer which the King had some time before given to their commissioners; and attributing it to Morton, who, at this time, had the direction of James, they regarded it as a new proof of his attachment to episcopacy. With the request of the Sovereign, the ministers did not choose to comply. They entered upon the consideration of the conference which had been held at Stirling, compared what had been settled in that conference with the resolutions of the Assembly; and, that they might clearly evince their determination not to alter their course, they gave a new

commission to urge the Archbishop of St Andrews to submit, and to summon him to appear in Edinburgh with all expedition, to vindicate himself from the accusation which had been brought against him. In compliance, however, with the tenor of the King's letter, they nominated a few of the members of Assembly to attend the parliament, and to consider what should be done for promoting the glory of God, and maintaining the policy of the church. Apprehensions of the increasing diffusion of Popery being entertained, they sent Erskine of Dun, Smeton the moderator, Melvil, Hay, and Greig, to the King, to crave that a stop might be put to the education of the Scotish youth in Popish schools abroad; that the foundations, erections, and other papers of the university of St Andrews, probably suspected of coldness in its zeal for the Reformation, might be exhibited, that corruptions in the college might be removed, and that order might be put to the jesuits who had come into the country. To these were added some other requests, which it is unnecessary to record.* CHAP. V. 1579.

It ought not, however, to be concealed, that one subject, most interesting to all who believe in the truth, and rejoice in the beneficent tendency of Christianity, occupied the attention, and called forth the truly pious zeal of this Assembly. A propo-

* Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 191—204. Calderwood's printed History, p. 86—88. Spottiswoode, p. 308. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 12, 43. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 65, 66.

CHAP. V.

1579. sal had a few years before been made, to undertake a new translation of the scriptures. The work was earnestly promoted by the ministers; it was now completed; an order for its publication was issued; and a most valuable letter addressed to the King was composed, probably by Smeton, the amiable and enlightened moderator, to be prefixed to the first Scotish edition of the Bible.*

A Parliament Oct. or Nov. The King was highly dissatisfied with the neglect of his recommendation to the Assembly, and he became, from this period, strongly prejudiced against the Presbyterian party; but their strength was now so formidable, that although the estates again declined to ratify the polity, several acts highly favourable to them were sanctioned. The parliament met in Edinburgh, and the King having, previous to its assembling, entered the metropolis, was received with the utmost splendour and magnificence. †

To gratify the ministers, all the acts which, from the Reformation, had been made for securing the liberty of the true church, were confirmed, and it

* A very interesting account of the progress of the translation, and of the steps taken with regard to it, is given by Wodrow in his MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Smeton, p. 5—13. He has inserted the letter to the King, in which there is much important matter, mingled with the particular views of the Assembly respecting policy.

† In Murray's Collection of Acts, &c. the Parliament is said to have met in October. This agrees with Calderwood; but other writers state that it did not begin till the 5th of November. See continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1153.

was declared, "that the ministers of the blessed evangil of Jesus Christ, whom God, of his mercy, has now raised up amongst us, or hereafter shall raise, agreeing with them that now live in doctrine and administration of sacraments, and the people that profess Christ as he is now offered, and communicate with the holy sacraments according to the Confession of Faith, be the true and holy kirk of Jesus Christ within this realm." The jurisdiction of the church was stated as comprehending the preaching of the true word of Jesus Christ, correction of manners, and administration of the holy sacraments. It appears also, from the list of unprinted acts, that the reformation of the university of St Andrews had been ratified, in other words, that parliament had granted the prayer of the church with respect to that university; thus establishing a precedent, upon which the church often acted, that the Assembly is entitled to advert to the faith and morals of the professors of colleges, and to represent to the legislature, or to the Sovereign, the abuses, which, in its estimation, should be corrected.

There is a remarkable ordinance of this parliament connected with the moral and religious state of the kingdom, and exhibiting, in a melancholy light, that state. The subject had frequently been considered by the judicatories of the church, and, in the course of the former year, a supplication with regard to it had been made to the king;—facts

CHAP. V.

1579.

which shew that there was an imperious call for some measures to stop the profligacy which is described in the statute: * "Forasmuch as it is statute and ordained, by a godly act made in the days of King James the Fourth, that there be no markets nor fairs held upon holy-days, nor yet in churches or church yards upon holy-days, or other days, which act our Sovereign Lord and his three estates do approve; and seeing that the Sabbath day is now commonly violated and broken, as well within boroughs as in the country, to the great dishonour of God, by holding of the said markets and fairs on Sabbath days, using of hand labour and working thereon as on the other days of the week, and by gaming and playing, passing to taverns and ale-houses, and wilful remaining from their parish churches in time of sermon or prayers on the Sabbath; therefore his Majesty, and his three estates, in this present parliament, statute and ordain that there be no markets or fairs held upon the Sabbath day, nor yet within churches or church-yards that day or any other day, under the pain of forfeiture of goods: And also, that no hand labour nor working be used on the Sabbath, nor no gaming or playing, passing to taverns and ale-houses, or selling of meat or drink, or wilful remaining from the parish church in time of sermons and prayers, under certain penalties then specified." This act

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 527.

proceeded upon the justest views of the importance of properly keeping the Sabbath, for preserving on the minds of the people the great truths of religion; and it seems, notwithstanding their former neglect and profanation of that day, to have been in harmony with the feelings and impressions of the great part of the community; for it not only was generally observed, but the utmost resistance was made, at a subsequent period, to attempts at introducing a licentiousness with respect to the Lord's day, which would have proved most ruinous to public morals, but which, it is melancholy to think, was proposed and enforced under the pretence of serving the cause of religion, and was represented, as the mark of those who had the most enlightened views of the nature of Christianity.

Another most salutary regulation, and contributing to give efficacy to the act just mentioned, was, that all respectable persons having a certain revenue, should have, for the instruction of their families, a Bible and psalm-book in the vulgar tongue. In reference to one of the articles presented to the King by the last General Assembly, respecting the foreign education of the youth, a practice which had become very frequent, the following law was made; "Because sundry of the youth of this realm, passing to parts beyond sea, become corrupted in religion, from which great evils may arise,—therefore it is statuted and ordained, that all persons, the sons of noblemen, gentlemen, or others, pretending

CHAP. V. 1579.

the cause of their departure to be for attaining further knowledge in letters, shall, before their said departure, solicit and obtain his Majesty's licence to that effect, containing a provision that they shall remain constant in the profession of the true religion, publicly preached, and by law established in the realm; and that, upon their return, they shall within the space of twenty days pass to the bishop, superintendent, or commissioner of the church in the bounds within which they reside, and offer to make confession of this according to the true religion established in the realm." *

Although much was done by this parliament to give security to the Protestant establishment, and although the solicitude to disseminate the knowledge of scripture must have gratified every sincere friend to the Reformation, yet the caution with which the estates abstained from sanctioning the bold proceedings of the Assembly, and their recognition of bishops, superintendents, and commissioners, in the act last quoted, could not fail, in the temper in which most of the ministers were, to be interpreted into an indication of indifference or of hostility. Before attending, however, to the future conduct of the Presbyterians, it is necessary to advert to the

* For the proceedings of this parliament, see Collection of Acts by Sir Thomas Murray of Glendook, p. 207, 208, and Black Acts as quoted in the continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1154—1158.

state of the court, and of political influence, which had a powerful effect upon that conduct.

1579. Policy recommended by Morton.

After Morton succeeded in again obtaining the direction of his sovereign, he advised him to lose no time in intimating to Elizabeth that he had assumed the administration of government. With this advice James readily complied, and, in the council which was held previous to the parliament of the former year, he mentioned his intention, stating the reasons which had influenced him, and particularly specifying his desire to be put in possession of the patrimony of his grandmother the Countess of Lennox, who had recently died. Although the Chancellor and his party suspected that the plan originated with Morton, and deeply lamented that he had obtained the ascendancy over the King, they could not persist in objecting to what was in every point of view so obviously expedient, and, resting satisfied with making some observations against renewing a league with England, it was determined that Pitcairn, the Abbot of Dunfermline, should be sent to the English court. Elizabeth acted at this time towards James in the most harsh and ungracious manner. Upon some frivolous pretext, she rejected his claim to the property which so justly belonged to him; and although she made a few general professions of concern for his happiness, and of anxiety to promote it, she permitted her ministers to treat with coldness, approaching to in-

CHAP. V.

1579.

sult, his proposals for perpetuating the harmony between the two British kingdoms. *

The king, young as he was, must have been indignant at the mode in which his ambassador was received, but although the tendency of this was to sink Morton in his estimation, that politic nobleman still retained his confidence, and, freed by the sudden death of Athol, under circumstances which led to the unfounded supposition that he had fallen a sacrifice to his rival, he guided the national councils no less than when he was invested with the regency. † His jealousy of the family of Hamilton was not however diminished, and he even resolved to accomplish its ruin. He represented to the King that the two younger sons had been accessory to the death of the Earls of Murray and Lennox, and that they were thus excluded from the benefit of that act of indemnity, which had been wisely framed for composing the troubles of the nation. He succeeded in banishing Lord Claud and Lord John Hamilton from Scotland, and he proceeded with the most savage cruelty against the Earl of Arran, who still suffered under the mental derangement which had rendered him incapable of taking a part in events

* Spottiswoode, p. 284, 285, and p. 304, compared with Camden, as quoted in the continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1149. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 110. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 220.

† Spottiswoode, p. 306. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 177. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 109, and 135.

so deeply interesting to his family. This unhappy nobleman was forced from the castle in which he had been confined; and his servants having, from the apprehension that their master would be put to death, resisted the emissaries of Morton, this resistance was imputed to Arran, and his title and estates were basely forfeited.* These arbitrary and iniquitous proceedings, although cloaked by a declaration of the King that no part of the agreement at Perth should be violated, must have ultimately raised new enemies to Morton, to whom they were universally attributed; but while he was exulting in having removed every formidable rival, he was unexpectedly supplanted in the royal favour, and he soon beheld the bright prospect which he was fondly contemplating overcast for ever. 1579.

The King becomes attached to two favourites. September.

Towards the end of this year, Esmè, Lord D'Aubigny, the son of a younger brother of the late Earl of Lennox, and cousin-german to the King's father, arrived from France under pretence of visiting his illustrious relation, but not improbably sent by the family of Guise, to ingratiate himself with the monarch, and to incline him to renew that connection with the French government, which had for ages been maintained by the Scotish nation. James received him with the utmost kindness, and, as he was possessed of the most insinuating manners and

* Spottiswoode, p. 304, 307. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 177—179. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 109, 110, and curious note subjoined to the latter of these pages.

CHAP. V. 1579.

address, he captivated the affection of the young prince, who admitted him into his confidence, and listened with satisfaction to his suggestions. The King did not conceal the partiality with which he regarded his friend. He paid to him the most flattering attention,—conferred on him the title of Earl of Lennox, which he had induced his grand-uncle to relinquish,—and that he might enable him to support the splendour and dignity of his rank, gave to him the abbacy of Arbroath, which, by the forfeiture of Lord John Hamilton, had devolved to the crown. *

About the same time, James Stewart, a younger brother of the family of Ochiltree, recommended himself to his sovereign. Artful and destitute of principle, keeping steadily in view his own advancement, and aware that he was disliked by many of the courtiers, he paid to D'Aubigny the most obsequious respect, that, without creating envy, or exciting disgust, he might ultimately bend that favourite to the completion of the schemes upon which, from an early period after his introduction at court, he seems to have anxiously meditated. †

* Spottiswoode, p. 308. MS. Hist of James VI. p. 180, 181. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 127. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 606, and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 88, 89. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 620. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in life of Durie, p. 3. of Lawson, p. 15. and of Smeton, p. 18. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 65. Camden's Annals, p. 284. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 220, 221.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 126. Spottiswoode, p. 310. Crawford's

CHAP. V.

1579. Suspicions entertained regarding the principles and views of Lennox.

The rapid exaltation of a foreigner raised the indignation of the nobles, and, as Lennox had been educated in the Popish religion, the clergy took the alarm, and readily listened to the insinuation that the faith of the King would be perverted. Ardently attached to the Reformation, the fear of this would have called forth their most decided efforts to guard against so formidable an evil, and James, to remove their apprehensions, professed to make every exertion to enlighten and convert his friend. The labour of the prince was not employed in vain. Lennox saw the importance of conciliating the ministers, and, either from conviction or policy, he made a solemn declaration of his having embraced the Protestant religion, he subscribed the confession, and partook of the Lord's supper. * He did not, however, esteem even this as sufficient; but, that he might satisfy the whole church, he addressed a letter to the General Assembly, and sent a messenger with proper authority to present it in his name. In it he thus detailed the circumstances connected with his change of religion. "It is not, I think, unknown to you, how it has pleased God of his goodness to call me by his grace to the knowledge of

1580. Method taken by him to remove them. March.

Lives of Officers of State, p. 137. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 623. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 111. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 71.

* Calderwood's Hist. p. 89. Spottiswoode, p. 308. Wodrow's MS. Vol. I. folio, in life of Craig, p. 19. Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 73.

CHAP. V. 1580.

my salvation, since my coming to this land, wherefore I render most earnestly humble thanks unto his Divine Majesty, finding my voyage towards these parts most happily bestowed in this respect. And although I have made open declaration of this my calling, first by my own mouth in the church of Edinburgh, and secondly, by my handwriting in the king's church at Stirling, where I subscribed the Confession of Faith, yet I found it was my duty, you being generally convened, to send this gentleman, my cousin and friend, accompanied with my letter towards you, to make you in my name free and humble offer of due obedience, and to receive your will in any thing that shall please you. And I further assure you, that I shall procure and advance all other things which may promote the glory of God, and increase of his church." At a subsequent meeting he offered to subscribe his acknowledgment of what was contained in the act of parliament, declaring the religion established to be the only true religion, at any time that the Assembly should appoint. *

This conduct sufficiently shews his solicitude to be esteemed a friend to the Protestant church, and it seems for some time to have answered the object which he had in view; for the Assembly, satisfied

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 209—211. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 624—625, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 89. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 69, 70.

CHAP. V.

with his attention, made no complaint, and expressed no suspicion that he intended to deceive.

1580. Apprehensions of popery.

It was not long, however, before the feelings which he wished to remove, were renewed in all their force. Some dispensations from Rome were accidentally discovered, granting permission to those who held them, to promise, swear, subscribe and do what else should be required of them, provided that in mind they continued firm, and did use diligence to advance in secret the Romish faith. Jealousy and suspicion were most naturally excited by these shameful papers; the church made the most powerful representations; and the King, either from principle, or from serious alarm for Lennox, and dread that he might himself be implicated in the charge of coldness in his attachment to the reformed tenets, immediately interfered. He commanded Craig, who had a little before been invited to be minister to the royal household, and who was deservedly revered by all classes of Protestants, to compose a short confession, in which all the errors of popery were explicitly abjured, and which, from the mode in which it was written, was commonly called the negative confession. The King and his council immediately subscribed it, and all his subjects were required to attach their subscription. *

Negative confession of faith composed by order of the King. 1581. Jan. 28.

* Row's MS. Hist. of the estate of the Kirk of Scotland, p. 27—32. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. under 1581, p. 17—19, and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 96, 97. Spottiswoode, p. 301. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of John Craig, p. 17—21.

CHAP. V.

1580.

Of this confession, and of the interpretations which were put on it, much will be said in the progress of this history. It is sufficient at present to observe, that, in allusion to the dispensations, a clause was inserted, by which the subscribers called God to witness, that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the said confession, and did not feign or dissemble in any sort.

Schemes against Morton.

Whilst Lennox was thus endeavouring to remove the suspicions which, from his education in France, and his connection with the family of Guise, were entertained of his principles, he and Stewart were employing every method which ingenuity could devise, to effect the ruin of Morton, whose talents they dreaded, and whose firmness in support of the reformed faith they had no hope of relaxing. The King, who never had loved him, listened with readiness to the insinuations which were artfully conveyed, and the favourites succeeded in inducing him to regard Morton as stained with the blackest guilt. Surmises were circulated, that he had formed a design of sending the King into England, and was carrying on a secret negotiation with Elizabeth; and, although, when he complained of this charge, James said that he knew it to be false, yet the sovereign was surrounded with a guard, and the Earl of Lennox was appointed chamberlain. While these measures were taking by the majority of the council, Sir Robert Bowes arrived in Scotland, to

remonstrate against the practices of Lennox, and to attempt to procure his removal from court. The ambassador was received with the utmost contempt, and, irritated by this treatment, he soon left the kingdom. Alarmed at the prospect of a rupture with England, James dispatched a confidential agent to explain what had happened, and to offer an apology. He was not admitted to an audience with the Queen, but Lord Burleigh stated the cause of Elizabeth's displeasure,—intimated the aversion she had to Lennox,—and pointed out the prudence of his master's listening to the admonitions which had been addressed to him. * 1580.

Lennox and Stewart considered this as the most favourable time for accomplishing their great object. While his majesty was one day presiding in council, Stewart rushed into the apartment, and addressing himself to James, accused Morton of having been accessory to the death of Darnly, the father of the sovereign. Morton made an indignant reply; but Stewart, persisting in the accusation, the earl was confined to his chamber. From that he was carried to the castle of Edinburgh, and in a few days he was conveyed to Dunbarton, of which Lennox had been appointed governor. † Dec. 30. 1581, Jan. 18.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 127. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 111, 112, MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 183. Spottiswoode, p. 309, 310. Camden's Annals, p. 312, 313. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 73—75.

† Spottiswoode, p. 310, 311. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 646. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 112, 113, and

CHAP. V.

1581. Interference of Elizabeth for his preservation ineffectual.

Elizabeth was no sooner informed of the imprisonment of Morton, than she sent Randolph to Scotland, with instructions to insist upon that nobleman being restored to liberty, and upon his enemies being dismissed from the counsels of James. Dexterous, however, as Randolph was in all the arts of political intrigue, he found the party against Morton too powerful to be overcome. The King listened to his remonstrances with attention, but he positively refused to comply with his demands; and when Randolph, hoping to influence the estates, which were then assembled, addressed them, pointing out the dangerous policy, which, through evil counsellors, had been adopted, he had the mortification to find that he rather injured the cause which he was desirous to serve. He then attempted to raise a party to oppose, by force, the measures of the court, and held forth promises of effectual aid from Elizabeth; but there was so little cordiality, even in those whom he influenced, and he was daily exposed to so many insults and dangers, that, without giving any notice of his departure, he hastened to England. *

Morton tried and condemned.

Randolph was convinced that the fate of Mor-

137. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 127. MS. Hist. of James, p. 184, 185. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 622.

* Strype's Annals, Vol. p. 620—624, and Appendix to that Volume, p. 138, No 26, where may be seen an original letter of Randolph, giving an account of his embassy. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 6—9.

ton was sealed, and his anticipation was soon realised. The late Regent was brought from Dunbarton to Edinburgh by a party of men, led by the Earl of Montrose and Stewart, upon whom the title of Earl of Arran had most indecently been bestowed, and soon after his arrival the trial took place. He was charged with having been accessory to King Henry's murder, and with concealing the design of cutting off that Prince, which had been communicated to him. He pleaded not guilty, and objected to several who were to sit in judgment, as prejudiced against him. His objections were, as he probably expected, overruled; and after a short deliberation, Montrose, who was chancellor of the jury, if that name may be applied to men who were evidently determined to condemn, declared him guilty. He was then sentenced to be carried to the common place of execution, to be there hanged upon a gibbet, and after he was dead, to be beheaded, and his body to be exhibited in a mangled state, in the most public places of the city. * He heard the infamous sentence without apparent emotion. On the succeeding day, some of the ministers, who felt the deepest sympathy for his unhappy situation, and who regarded his condemnation as intended to wound the reformed church, waited upon him in prison; and having found him calm and composed, con-

CHAP. V. 1581.

May 27. June 2.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 45.

CHAP. V.

1581. His conference with the ministers.

versed with him upon many interesting subjects, urging him to acknowledge how far he was guilty of the charge which had been brought against him; and to throw light upon some other events in which it was rumoured that he had been criminally implicated. He confessed that the scheme of murdering Darnly had been imparted to him, but that he had refused to accede to it; and that he had determined, if the Queen had, by a writing under her hand, pressed him to engage in it, to leave his country. He mentioned the reasons which had led him to conceal what he knew, reasons the force of which his peculiar situation led him much too highly to estimate, but which deservedly subject him to the heaviest censure for having proceeded with the severity which he often shewed against men not more guilty than himself, and for his allowing the person who had proposed the measure to him, and who was certainly very criminal, to escape with impunity. He denied, in the most solemn manner, that he had formed any scheme of carrying the king into England, or that he had any part in the death of the Earl of Athol; and he vindicated, as strongly as in the presence of the ministers he could be expected to do, the conduct which he had followed with regard to the church, and his partiality to the episcopal polity. He admitted the soundness of the council which Knox on his death-bed had given to him; and after expressing his opinion of the iniquity of his trial, and his conviction that,

whatever had been the evidence in his favour, he would have been condemned, he lamented the sins of his private life, and fervently implored the divine pardon.* Upon the report of his confession, James 1581.

* The interesting conference between Morton and John Durie, and Walter Balcanquel, two of the ministers of Edinburgh, has been published by Crawford at the end of his memoirs, this writer having compared two MS. copies of it found in Scotland, with one in the Cotton Library, Caligula, c. 6. It has been lately printed with Bannatyne's Journal. Calderwood in his MS. Hist. Vol III. p. 46—56, has recorded it, and Wodrow, in his MSS. Vol. I. folio, under life of Durie, has inserted this document, having compared the copy in Calderwood with one in the Bodleian Library. Crawford affirms that the confession had been altered by the ministers to suit their views, but he does so without the slightest ground. Durie and his colleague were amiable and respectable men; but there is one part of their conversation with Morton, which, to say the least of it, was most incautiously expressed, and which appears to set aside all moral obligation. Morton had expressed much apprehension that the justice of God would descend upon one who had been so great a sinner, and to this the ministers replied. "Be of good courage, and even in respect of the justice of God, be assured that your sins will not be laid to your charge, and that because God is just; for the justice of God will not permit him to take twice payment for one thing; as we know that, in the common dealings of men, he that is a just man will not crave payment of that whereof he hath been already satisfied; and therefore, seeing that Christ hath already satisfied for our sins, and paid God for the uttermost farthing he could crave of us, he cannot lay our sins to our charge, being satisfied in Christ, so that his justice will not suffer him to take payment twice for one thing." Unto this he answered, "Truly this is very good." I have copied the passage from Wodrow. Some allowance must be made for the wish to convey peace to a fellow-creature in the situation of Morton; but if this was the usual style in which the great doctrine of the atonement was explained; if the necessity of repentance and amendment were not prominently brought forward as interwoven with the scheme of salvation, much encouragement might have been given to immorality.

CHAP. V. 1581. mitigated the severity of the sentence, ordering that he should be beheaded, and his body afterwards buried. At the appointed time, attended by some of the ministers, he came upon the scaffold, with the dignity and the intrepidity of a resolute mind, strengthened by the hopes of religion. Arran urged him to subscribe his confession, and, when he declined to do so, his accuser, with the hypocrisy which is the most unequivocal and revolting sign of depravity, asked his forgiveness, as he had not been actuated by any particular enmity against him. Morton nobly replied, It is not now time to remember quarrels, I forgive you and all others. He then declared his zealous attachment to the Protestant faith, repeated the substance of his discourse with the ministers, and, having laid his head upon the block, it was severed from his body, while he was saying Lord Jesus receive my soul. His body was immediately covered with a beggarly cloak, and lay upon the scaffold from the time of his execution till sunset, none of the vast multitude who had often poured into his ear the flattery of adulation, venturing to pay any mark of respect to the remains of a man who had acted so prominent a part in the history of his country, who, a short time before, had combined with the favour of the monarch the most extensive influence; and who, through that influence, and the immense wealth which he had accumulated, had conferred upon many advancement and honour, which at this me-

lancholy period should have secured some expression of gratitude, and some testimony of veneration.* CHAP. V. 1581.

Morton was possessed of a vigorous and intrepid mind. Living at a period of almost unceasing commotion, he conducted himself with much ability and address, and he powerfully influenced the measures of government long before he was invested with the Regency. Impressed with the truth and with the importance of the reformed religion, he gave to it his steady support, and in his early life was certainly warmly attached to the civil and the religious liberty of Scotland. Political intrigues, however, produced upon his integrity the baneful effect which so commonly results from them, and he was led to commit actions which no views of morality, or even of expediency, can justify. Licentious in private life, he was guilty of many violations of duty, which he deeply deplored; and although he was naturally a lover of justice, and exerted himself with unwearied zeal in restoring to his countrymen the advantages which the impartial administration of it conveys, his avarice perverted His character.

* Spottiswoode, p. 313, 314. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 58. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Durie, p. 4, and 16—18. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 117, 118. MS. Hist. of James VI. p. 185. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 332—336. Crawford's Life of Morton in his Lives of Officers of State, p. 115, 116. Camden's Annals, p. 317. James Melvil's MS. Diary or Life, p. 10'—115.

CHAP. V.

1531.

his understanding, destroyed his patriotism, and often impelled him to the meanest and most culpable oppression. His fate strikingly illustrates the mutability of human condition. After many struggles, and much suffering, he attained the summit which his ambition had pointed out to him; he saw his enemies banished; he guided the decisions of the monarch; he had accumulated riches which provided for him all the luxuries of life; and he had every reason to hope, that in uninterrupted prosperity he would close his residence upon earth,—when, from causes which prudence could not foresee, and which ability could not counteract, he was deprived of his possessions, stripped of his honours, branded by an ignominous sentence of condemnation, deserted by the friends in whose attachment he confided, and, after death, committed to the meanest sepulchre, by some of the dregs of the people, whilst his head was fixed on the prison, a sad memorial of blasted ambition. Yet, if we may rely upon the testimonies of his penitence and resignation, this harsh discipline was a blessing; rescued him from the criminal or the worldly pursuits by which his mind was engrossed; and led him to fix his thoughts upon what alone must ultimately convey happiness to man,—upon the invaluable truths of religion, upon those promises of mercy, and upon those prospects of unfading

felicity which are disclosed in the beneficent records of the Christian revelation. *

1581.

* Spottiswoode, p. 314, 315, has, with a slight bias in favour of Morton, delineated his character, some valuable remarks upon which are given by Calderwood in his MS. History, and by Wodrow in his MS. as last quoted. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 126. Crawford of Drumsoy, in his Memoirs, p. 336, has drawn Morton's character in the blackest colours, yet even he concludes with observing, "in one thing he was nevertheless happy, that he died truly penitent; and with that courage and resignation which become a great man and a good Christian." Crawford, in his Lives of Officers of State, after transcribing Morton's character, as delineated by Spottiswoode, adds a reflection similar to that in the Memoirs. In the continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1164, his merits and his talents are very justly appreciated. Melvil's MS. Diary, as last quoted.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

Proceedings of the General Assembly with respect to the Ecclesiastical Polity....Act against Bishops....Remarks upon it....Acts respecting Readers and Pluralities.... Establishment of Presbyteries....Activity of Melvil.... State of the Court....Contest between the Court and the Ministers....Case of Montgomery....Other causes of dissension....The Nobles dissatisfied....Raid of Ruthven.... Proclamation occasioned by it....Means employed to render it popular....It is cautiously approved by the General Assembly....Convention of Estates....Departure and Death of Lennox....Amiable View of the King.... Death of Buchanan....Situation of James attracts the notice of Foreign Powers....Influence of that situation upon the Presbyterians....Embassy to Elizabeth....The King makes his escape....His administration....The Earl of Arran recalled....Proceedings against the Noblemen who had been engaged in the Raid of Ruthven....Interference of Elizabeth....The Church harassed, and Ministers banished....Acts of Parliament relating to the Church. Ministers Protest against them....Correspondence of the banished Ministers with their Congregations in Edinburgh....Death of Lawson....Efforts of the King to gain the support of the Clergy....Plans for removing Arran from the King....Revolution at Court ....Effect of this change upon the state of the Church.... Conference appointed, and articles agreed upon by those who attended it....Conduct of Melvil to the Archbishop

of St Andrews....General Assembly meets after an interval of some years....Measures adopted by it....The Court proceeds against Melvil.

CHAP. VI.

1580. 12th July. Proceedings of the General Assembly with respect to the ecclesiastical polity.

During the progress of the ambitious schemes which enfeebled the government of James, and terminated in the condemnation and death of Morton, the church was steadily prosecuting that system of ecclesiastical discipline and polity to which it had already displayed so decided an attachment. The parliament, the transactions of which have been recorded, had stopped far short of the point to which the Presbyterians wished it to advance. It had indeed left the question of polity in the state in which it had been placed by the agreement at Leith, and had thus confirmed the civil right of the bishops to those benefices into which, in conformity to that agreement, they had been inducted. The ministers, however, resolved to pay to this sanction no regard. Little solicitous to ascertain the just extent of their powers, and indifferent about the consequences which might result from a conflict with government, they boldly determined, that, availing themselves of the veneration in which they were held by the people, which would render opposition to their proceedings in the highest degree hazardous, they would extirpate the episcopal office, and completely subvert the constitution of the church. Accordingly, at an Assembly held in Dundee, they passed the singular and decisive act

CHAP. VI.

1580. Act against bishops, 16th July.

now to be recorded. "Forasmuch as the office of a bishop, as it is now used and commonly taken within this realm, has no sure warrant, authority, or good ground out of the scriptures of God, but is brought in by the folly and corruption of men's invention, to the great overthrow of the church of God, the whole Assembly of the church in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason on this matter, none defending this pretended office, finds and declares the same pretended office used and termed as above said, unlawful in itself, as having neither foundation, ground, or warrant within the word of God; and ordains that all such persons as hold, or shall hold hereafter the said office, shall be charged *simpliciter* to demit the same, as an office whereunto they are not called by God, and to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the sacraments, or using any way the office of pastors, until they receive admission anew from the General Assembly, under the pain of excommunication, to be used against them if they be found disobedient, or contravene this act in any point. And for better execution of the said act, it is statuted, that a synodal assembly shall be held in every province where any usurped bishops are, and begin the 18th day of August next to come, to which they shall be called and summoned by the visitors of the said countries; namely, the Bishop of St Andrews to appear at St Andrews; the Bishop of Aberdeen at Aberdeen; the Bishop

of Glasgow in Glasgow; and the Bishop of Murray in Elgin, to give obedience to the said act, which, if they refuse to do, that the said Assemblies shall appoint certain brethren of their ministry to give them public admonitions out of the pulpit, and warn them, in case they disobey, to appear before the next General Assembly, to hear the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them." . With respect to that part of the patrimony of the church possessed by the bishops, it was resolved, that the consideration of it should be delayed till the next Assembly. None of the bishops opposed this attack upon the existence of their venerable office, and the Bishop of Dunblane even expressed his acquiescence in it, declaring that he submitted to be ruled by the Assembly. † CHAP. VI. 1580.

By this memorable act the Assembly took into its own hands the authority of the state; set Parlia- Remarks upon it.

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 206—208. Spottiswoode, p. 311. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 620, 621, and Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 90. Row's MS. Hist. of the Kirk, p. 24. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in life of Lawson, who was Moderator of this Assembly, p. 13, 14. MS. life of J. Melvil, p. 74.

† Row's MS. Hist. p. 26. This writer asserts, that many acts against episcopacy passed with the consent of the bishops, had been torn from the register. The same thing is mentioned by Calderwood in his MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 636, and Wodrow, in various places of his MSS. Vol. I. folio, particularly in his life of Pont, p. 12. ob erves, that many useful acts were lost, Adamson, the Archbishop of St Andrews, tearing from the register what was against the order of bishops. In his recantation, the Primate gives an account of this, admitting the fact, but attributing it to another bishop.

CHAP. VI. 1580.

ment at defiance, and really dictated to the sovereign the line of conduct which he must follow. Under an able and vigorous prince, in full possession of his prerogative, such an ordinance would have been regarded as the signal of rebellion; for by whatever motives the clergy were actuated, he would have found it necessary to assert his prerogative, and not to permit the formation of a party, which, although professing to confine itself to ecclesiastical regulations, would soon enlarge its pretensions, and object to every step which it did not propose or approve. In the divided state of the kingdom, and amidst the intrigues and cabals of a feeble court, the Church dreaded no such resistance, and the ministers, without seeming in the slightest degree sensible of the nature of the steps which they had taken, or of their having deviated in the smallest degree from their duty to the king, appointed some of their brethren to wait upon him and the council, and, with all due humility and reverence, as they expressed themselves, to implore the concession of what they were now probably determined to extort. Several of the articles relate to local circumstances; but amongst them was a petition that the book of polity should be established by an act of privy council, until it could be sanctioned by Parliament, and that the thirds should be restored.*

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 213.

1580. Acts respecting Readers and Pluralities.

It has been mentioned in a former work, that, from the scarcity of persons qualified to officiate as ministers, for a considerable period after the reformation was established in Scotland, a class of men denominated Readers was recognized, and their office was described in the First Book of Discipline. * From the nature of their occupation and their attainments, they were inferior to the pastors; and, as the great principle upon which the church was now proceeding was the equality of religious teachers, the Assembly found it necessary, previously to the final arrangements which it contemplated, to express its views with respect to this lower order of Christian instructors. An act was accordingly passed, declaring that the office of reader is not an ordinary office in the church, and was not essential to it, and ordaining that such readers as were not, upon a new examination, qualified to become pastors, should be deposed,—no reader being capable of holding a benefice, or having a right to reside in the manse where there was an officiating minister. †

It was also enacted, for the purpose of remedying the scandalous practice which the avarice of the Earl of Morton had led him to introduce, that only

* The history of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. II. last chapter of the volume.

† Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 209, 210. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in life of James Lawson, p. 11. Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 91.

CHAP. VI.

1580. one church should be assigned to each minister, in order that his attention might be devoted to a particular flock,—an act of vast importance, the strict adherence to which has given to the Scotish establishment that high excellence as a system for communicating moral and religious instruction, which even they who cannot reconcile it with the institutions of the Apostolic age must admit it to possess.*

Establishment of Presbyteries.

The transactions of this Assembly, so interesting in themselves, and evidently pointing to the formation of a new scheme of ecclesiastical polity, could not fail to draw the serious attention of the prelates, and of the government by which they had been protected. The archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, either from sharing the general apprehension, with respect to the introduction of Popery, or from not conceiving it expedient to resist almost the whole body of the church, entered into a negotiation with the Presbyterians, and made concessions so nearly approaching to the views of the ministers, that the other bishops were enjoined, by 20th Oct. the next Assembly, to imitate the example of the primates.† At this Assembly, however, it was not

* Authors last quoted.

† Bulk of the Universal Kirk, p. 218. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 636, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 92. That part of the record which contains the submission of the bishops, was afterwards destroyed, but the substance of it is given by Calderwood. The author of the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined, &c. p. 244—246, considers the archbishop of St Andrews subscribing the

considered as prudent to proceed to the actual erection of Presbyteries, but several of the clergy were appointed to concur with the Lord Register in devising the means by which this could be effectuated.* CHAP. VI. 1581.

The situation of affairs was in the highest degree favourable for accomplishing this great object, considered as so essential to the purity of the church; for whatever were the real opinions of James, and of the favourites who directed him, the anxiety which the Duke of Lennox felt to ingratiate himself with the ministers, and to convince them of the truth of his conversion, combined with the eagerness to ruin Morton, led him to urge the King to acquiesce in those ecclesiastical innovations which he had hitherto resisted. Accordingly, when the next Assembly met, James, in a letter delivered by his commissioner, expressed his anxiety that some form or order as to the church, likely to be permanent, should be devised. To prevent all suspicion of his sincerity, he communicated a list of the presbyteries to be erected, representing the propriety of defining the powers to be vested in these judicatories, and the relation in which they should stand to the synods and General Assemblies. He also signified his wish, that if Parliament should meet whilst April 20.

* articles proposed to him as a proof of his ignorance of Church History.

† Calderwood, p. 97

CHAP. VI. 1581.

the steps which he had recommended were taking, the order to which he had alluded, or such part of it as might be arranged, should be sanctioned by the estates.*

The presbyterian party was highly gratified by this countenance of the Sovereign; thanks were given to God for having moved the heart of the King to take such care of the church; and the book of policy was inserted in the records of the Assembly, each presbytery being enjoined to procure a copy.†

Thus was the presbyterian form of church government, after many struggles, introduced into Scotland, ratified formally by the Assembly, and in some degree confirmed by the Sovereign. It is impossible to attend to all the circumstances connected with its introduction, to the silence and partial acquiescence of the bishops, and to the feeble efforts of the executive power to control the bold decisions of the ministers, without drawing the conclusion, that the great body of the people were deeply interested in this revolution, considered it as implicated with the best interests of religion, and were

* Buik of the Universal Kirk. Consult the record of the whole proceedings in the Assembly, April 1581. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 26—38, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 97—102. Spottiswoode, p. 315, 316, has given a very imperfect account of the proceedings of this Assembly. Baillie's Historical Vindication of the Church of Scotland, printed at London 1646, p. 48. a controversial work. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Penn, p. 19.

† Buik of Universal Kirk. Calderwood and Wodrow, as last quoted.

resolved to give to those by whom it was conducted, an energy of support which might have proved in the highest degree hazardous to the peace of the country, had the designs of the ministers been, by the authority of government, opposed or defeated. The history of this alteration in the constitution of the church has been given with a minuteness of detail, which the important influence exerted by it upon the feelings and principles of the inhabitants of Scotland, and upon the history, the civil dissensions, and the liberties of Britain, seems to demand. Indeed, without a minute acquaintance with the ecclesiastical struggles and views of the present period, the history of Scotland is an unconnected mass of incidents; there is no clue to guide us when we seek to become familiar with them; and no light cast upon that love of freedom, and that determination to resist oppression, by which the inhabitants of this kingdom were afterwards so honourably distinguished.

Activity of Melvil.

Melvil, who had on the preceding year been removed from Glasgow, and made Principal of the Divinity College in the University of St Andrews, did not permit the zeal which he had excited to languish. At successive assemblies, he pressed the discussion of the various subjects connected with his favourite plan of ecclesiastical polity, and he at length saw it in its full extent carried into execution. In the discharge of what he conceived to be a most sacred duty, he was soon compelled to

CHAP. VI.

1581.

struggle with the court, and to submit to inconveniency or suffering, which raised him in the public estimation, and interwove the maxims which he inculcated with the affections of the people. *

State of the Court.

The tie which had united the two favourites being destroyed by the death of Morton, whose ruin both considered as essential for securing their own advancement, or promoting their views, the imperious dispositions of Stewart were no longer concealed, and, upon obtaining from the King a confirmation of the title of Arran, he resolved to rule the court, and treated Lennox, who had recently been created a Duke, with the utmost indignity. This conduct, to which he was partly impelled by the unprincipled ambition of the Countess of March, whom, under circumstances of the deepest infamy, he had espoused, filled the Duke with surprise and indignation; he bitterly complained to the King, and, possessed as he was of the affection of the monarch, he prevailed upon him to give Stewart decided proofs of his displeasure. This unexpected interference alarmed Arran. With abominable hypocrisy, he represented it as occasioned by his sincere attachment

* A particular account of the circumstances connected with the translation of Melvil to St Andrews, is given by Calderwood in his MS. Hist. Vol. II. p. 637, and by Wodrow in his Life of Melvil, Vol. I. folio, p. 18, 19, or in Vol. XIV. quarto. The lives in the quarto volumes are more accurately written than the corresponding ones in the folio copy; but as the pages of the quartos are not marked, while those of the folio are, I usually quote from the latter.

to the Protestant religion; and, although stained by vice, and profane in his principles, he regularly attended public worship, and took every method to gain the support of the ministers. They could not be deceived by such dissimulation; and as he was determined not to lose his influence, he made concessions to the Duke, was again received into favour, and cordially united with Lennox in suggesting or promoting the measures which the King at this time adopted.*

Contest between the Court and the Ministers. 24th Oct.

The Parliament met at Edinburgh in October; and although all the acts which had been passed in favour of the reformation were ratified; although it was ordained, that the number of ministers should be increased, and suitable provision made for their support; although means were taken to prevent the admission to the ministry of persons not qualified to discharge its duties; and, although much concern was manifested, not only to check the immoral practices which the church had reprobated, but to prevent whatever seemed calculated to preserve or excite reverence for the rites of the Popish religion, yet no allusion was made to the civil establishment of presbytery; and there was indeed no inclination in the King and his council to redeem the pledge

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 128. MS. History of James VI. p. 188—190. Spottiswoode's History, p. 315. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1165. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 138. From Wodrow's MSS. it is evident that the ministers never had any confidence in the Earl of Arran.

CHAP. VI.

1581.

which James had given to the preceding Assembly.* Through the summer, the fears of the clergy had been excited by the increasing influence of the Duke, whom, notwithstanding all his professions, a variety of circumstances led them to suspect as secretly devoted to Popery; and a transaction which originated with him, firmly convinced them, that whatever were his religious opinions, they could not expect, while he ruled the court, that the polity which they had sanctioned would be cordially supported. †

Case of Montgomery.

The see of Glasgow having become vacant, Lennox, bent upon the accumulation of wealth, resolved to appropriate the revenues of the bishopric, by presenting to it a person, who, for a small annual allowance, would convey to him what the prelates had been accustomed to enjoy. The slightest reflection might have shewn the hazard of the attempt, but, regardless of consequences, or not allowing himself to dwell upon them, he, after in vain soliciting several of the ministers, who indignantly rejected the humiliating proposal, prevailed upon Robert Montgomery, minister at Stirling, to accept of the appointment. This man had previously distinguished himself by the ardent

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 221—223, compared with Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 19, and of Robert Pont, p. 12.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. XIV. quarto, in Life of Balquankell, p. 1.

zeal with which he had defended the sentiments of Melvil, and had even declared that those of the clergy, who, from the desire of proceeding with caution, solicited an explanation of some part of the act declaring that the office of bishop was not warranted by the word of God, displayed a lukewarmness in the cause of the church, which would justify their being openly censured. Yet, before the expiration of a few months, he not only consented to be invested with the mitre, but to purchase it by concessions, from which an honourable and a religious mind should have shrunk with horror. His conduct justly called forth the strongest expressions of disapprobation from those with whom he had formerly associated; and the General Assembly took under consideration both the illegality of the office, and the simony of which Montgomery had been guilty. When, however, they were proceeding to deliberate, they received an intimation from the King, that, although he did not object to their thus investigating the life and doctrine of Montgomery, he required them to delay proceeding against him as a bishop, till a conference upon the continuance of the episcopal order should have taken place. The Assembly, unwilling to irritate the King, appointed some of the members to meet with commissioners from his Majesty, and Melvil exhibited various charges, some of them of a most singular nature, and others displaying liberal views of church government, as

CHAP. VI.

1581.

October.

CHAP. VI.

a ground of proceeding in an ecclesiastical manner against the obnoxious bishop. These charges were at length referred to the Presbytery of Stirling, Montgomery being in the meantime enjoined to continue in his ministry, and to take no steps with respect to his appointment. By the Presbytery, whose jurisdiction he declined, he was suspended from the exercise of his pastoral functions, but urged by the Duke, and trusting to the active interference of the Sovereign, he paid to this no attention. More decisive steps were now taken by the ministers, who considered that the existence of the Presbyterian polity was implicated with this contest. Montgomery was summoned to appear before the Synod of Lothian, to hear the sentence which had been pronounced against him; and when the King prohibited the Synod from interfering, and summoned the members to the council, they solemnly protested, that although they had appeared, to testify their obedience to his Majesty, they did not acknowledge him or his council, as judges in a matter purely ecclesiastical. They boldly declared that they would excommunicate Montgomery; and when James said that he would not permit them, they replied, in language which, thus used, might have reminded them of the arrogance of papal dominion,—we must obey God rather than man,—one of them praying, in the royal presence, that the King might be delivered from the evil company by which he was surrounded.

1581.

1582. April 12.

CHAP. VI.

The case was submitted by the clergy to a General Assembly, which met a few days after at St Andrews; and although letters from the King and council were presented, commanding the members, under pain of being held guilty of rebellion, not to proceed, they ordained that Montgomery should be deposed and excommunicated. This vigorous resolution shook the fortitude of Montgomery, he shrunk from censures which he had long revered, and influenced by the forcible remonstrances of Davidson, a minister distinguished by the boldness of his zeal, he threw himself upon the mercy of his brethren, acknowledged that he had acted most improperly, and promised not only that he would relinquish all intention of succeeding to the see of Glasgow, but that he would accept of no office without permission from the Assembly. 1582. April 24.

This timidity offended the King. Eager to regain the royal favour, or yielding to the remonstrances of Lennox and the fascinating influence of ambition, he soon departed from this resolution, and, furnished with an injunction from the sovereign to the neighbouring gentlemen to assist in installing him, he went to Glasgow. He was cited to answer to the presbytery for having, previously to the Assembly, intruded himself into the pulpit after he had forcibly removed the proper minister. The presbytery, by a mandate from the King, was enjoined not to interfere; and when the moderator, faithful to the Assembly, declared his resolution to

CHAP. VI.

1582. proceed against Montgomery according to the rules of Christ, the chief magistrate of the city pulled him from his chair, and violently committed him to prison. This was deprecated as persecution,—the church was represented as in danger,—and the flame of zeal rapidly spread throughout the kingdom. *

Other causes of dissension.

The case of Montgomery was not the only one which destroyed that harmony between the court and the General Assembly, which it was so important to preserve. About the same time, Balcanquell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, deeply impressed with the danger which, through the Duke of Lennox, threatened the Protestant faith, had, in a sermon, inveighed against that nobleman; and, in the bold style of the first reformers, had asserted, that Popery, within these four years, had entered into the court, and was maintained by the tyranny of a great companion who was styled his Grace. The King, irritated at aspersions which he was so desirous to remove, requested the Assembly to investigate the matter, and to censure what had been so intemperately spoken. Upon this, however, he ceased to insist, probably think-

1581. October.

* Buik of Universal Kirk under 1581 and 1582. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 60—68, 74, 82, 117, &c.; and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 118—128. Spottiswoode, p. 316—318. There is some inaccuracy in the archbishop's account, from his not attending to dates. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under lives of Melvil, Dury, Lawson, and Davidson. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 109. See also MS. Hist. of James VI., p. 190, 191. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 224, 225.; and Collier, Vol. II. p. 575.

ing that it was more prudent, and more consistent with his dignity, to allow Balcanquell to pass unnoticed; but the Assembly, after examining the persons who heard the sermon, formally declared, that nothing had been spoken by the minister who had been accused containing error, or slander, or giving just cause of offence, but that he had delivered solid, good, and true doctrine. * CHAP. VI. 1582.

This acquittal, which plainly shewed in what manner the church was determined to act in all cases affecting what was conceived by it to be the purity of religion, did not prevent the court from adverting to the conduct of another minister of Edinburgh. Upon a day appointed to be held as a fast day, Dury took occasion to expatiate upon the changes with which the country was threatened; and, considering these dangers as arising in a great degree from the influence of the Duke of Lennox, he did not scruple to brand that nobleman with the blackest censure and reproach. The King, considering this as a wanton attack upon his friend, ordered Dury to leave Edinburgh; but although he complied, yet, upon the meeting of the Assembly, which the presbytery of Edinburgh called on account of the alarming prospect which was opening to the church, he returned, and, in person, soli- June 27.

* Book of Universal Kirk, p. 281, 282. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 74. 75.; and Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 119. Spottiswoode, p. 317. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. XIV. quarto, in Life of Balcanquell.

CHAP. VI.

cited the advice of his brethren as to the line of conduct which he should adopt. The Assembly immediately sent a deputation to the King to ask an explanation of the order against Dury; and, after maturely deliberating, they advised him not to withdraw secretly, but to wait the execution of his Majesty's precept to the magistrates, and then to obey. They were far, however, from disapproving what he had done; on the contrary, they gave the amplest testimony to his doctrine and character, and authorized him to preach the Gospel wherever he might be placed. The King delivered an evasive answer to the commissioners from the Assembly; but he did not relinquish his purpose, and Dury was exiled from his residence and his congregation. *

1582. June.

June 28.

Melvil, who had been moderator of the former Assembly, was continued moderator of the present. At its commencement he delivered a striking discourse, in which, with some coarseness of expression, but much energy and force of argument, he inveighed against Popery and despotism; and, with strict adherence to the principles which he had avowed, he probably suggested the measures which were adopted as best calculated to turn the King

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 304—308. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 81, 82, 85—107, and 109. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Dury, p. 20—25. in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 22.; and in Life of John Davidson, p. 15. Spottiswoode, p. 319.

from the policy which he seemed determined to follow. Erskine of Dun, and several of the most popular and venerable of the reformers, were associated with Melvil, and instructed to wait upon the King at Perth,—to present to him the grievances of the church,—to lament their existence,—and, with all humility and reverence, to implore that, for the glory of God, they might be removed. The detail of these grievances exhibits more clearly than any description could do, the state in which the church then was, and the causes which led the ministers to approach their sovereign with the firm language of men who were resolved to erect a barrier against the dreadful encroachments of tyranny and oppression. They complained that, by the advice of some of his counsellors, he had been induced to assume a spiritual authority, which belonged only to Christ, and the execution of which is committed to the ministers of religion: That, in consequence of this assumption, he had bestowed benefices on unworthy persons, in direct opposition to the laws of the church and of the state: That, by his letters, he had prohibited ecclesiastical courts from using the discipline which it was their duty to enforce: That, by an act of council, he had suspended John Dury from preaching, and had banished him from his flock: That excommunicated persons, particularly Robert Montgomery, had been brought into his presence, and been authorized to preach: That the sentence of excommunication

1582.

July 6.

CHAP. VI.

1582. July.

passed against Montgomery had been disannulled by the council: And, after enumerating several of the steps which the court had taken for settling this man as Archbishop of Glasgow, they concluded by bewailing, that hands had been shaken with the bloody murderers and persecutors of the people of God; and that laws made for the maintenance of true religion were not executed. *

When the commissioners, after considerable delay, were admitted to the King, and presented the grievances, the Earl of Arran, hoping to intimidate them, with much vehemence asked who would dare to subscribe these treasonable articles. Melvil, who had treated with magnanimous disdain an advice which had been given to him to withdraw from Perth, because his life was in danger, immediately answered, We dare, and will subscribe them, and will render our lives in the cause. Having taken a pen, he, without hesitation, affixed his own name; and they who accompanied him imitated his example. The Duke and Arran were intimidated by this intrepidity; and, dreading that the ministers were assured of support, they dismissed them in peace. †

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 309—312. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 113—128.; and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 117, 118. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 21—25.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 128, 129.; and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 118. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 25. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 118, 119.

CHAP. VI.

1582.

The measures taken by the Assemblies of this and the preceding year excited much interest amongst all classes of the community. Anxious as the ministers were to complete the Presbyterian polity, and to reconcile its establishment with the constitution of Parliament, which, by removing one of the estates, it seemed to destroy, they steadily fixed their attention upon the religious and political state of the whole kingdom; and whilst they were laudably endeavouring to unite the nobles, and extinguish the feuds which were breaking forth in all parts of Scotland, they appointed a fast, that their sentiments with regard to the King, and the corruption of those who surrounded him, might be impressed upon the people. This fast had, a few weeks before the meeting of the last Assembly, been strictly observed, and the reasons for its being enjoined sedulously illustrated and enforced. It was represented as being necessary, from the universal conspiracies of Papists in all countries against Christians, for the execution of the bloody Council of Trent, from the oppression of the church of Christ, from the wasting of ecclesiastical revenues, from the decay of zeal, from the flocking of Jesuits to Scotland, from the enormous wickedness of the times, from the danger of the Sovereign occasioned by evil counsellors, by whom he might be corrupted in manners and religion, and from universal oppression and contempt of the poor; topics which, when urged by the eloquence of men justly revered,

June 1.

CHAP. VI. 1582.

would deeply interest the feelings of those to whom they were addressed, and lead them to identify, with the success of their teachers, the liberty and the religion to which they were devoted. *

The nobles dissatisfied.

In the fears and the discontent of the ministers, a great part of the nobles joined. They had seen, with feelings of mortified pride, and of bitter anguish, the rapid exaltation of Lennox to those splendid offices which they conceived themselves entitled to fill; and their feelings were rendered more acute by the imperious and insulting deportment of Arran, a man loaded by infamy. They at length formed the resolution of making a great effort to extricate their Sovereign from the degrading bondage in which they lamented that he was held, hoping to effectuate this interesting object by sending Lennox to France, and removing Arran from Court. Sensible that any representation which could be made to James, while he was in the power of his favourites, would be treated with contempt, or would expose themselves to ruin, and fully convinced that, if they tamely submitted, their properties and their lives would be sacrified to the grasping policy of those whom they detested, and that religion itself might be fatally assailed, they formed the desperate scheme of surrounding the Sovereign upon his return from Athol, where, with a slender

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 303, 304. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bury, p. 21. Spottiswoode, p. 319.

retinue, he had been enjoying his favourite exercise of hunting, of getting him under their own direction, and of imposing on him such a degree of restraint as would enable them to accomplish the objects which they had so much at heart. The circumstance of Lennox and Arran not being with the King, encouraged them to make the attempt, and they succeeded in detaining James at the house of Ruthven, which belonged to the Earl of Gowrie, one of the party, from which this enterprise has been denominated the Road or Raid of Ruthven.*

1582. Raid or Road of Ruthven. Aug. 23.

The King instantly suspected that a design had been formed to seize him, and his suspicions must have been confirmed by a supplication which was presented to him. In this supplication they by whom it was framed plainly stated the evils which they sought to remedy, and conveyed their sentiments in language very different from that to which the young monarch had been accustomed to listen. They informed him, that from the reverence which they owed him, they had for two years patiently

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 129—131. Spottiswoode, p. 320. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 134, 135. and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 129. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 16. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 138. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 119—120. Camden's Annals, p. 331. Baillie's Historical Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 59, 60. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 90, 91. The chief men engaged in the enterprise were, the Earls of Marr and Gowrie, Lords Lindsay and Boyd, the Masters of Glammis and Oliphant, the Abbots of Dunfermline, Paisley, Dryburgh, and Cambuskenneth, the Lairds of Lochlevin, Easter Wemyss, Cleish, and the Constable of Dundee.

CHAP. VI.

1582. Aug.

submitted to such false accusations, calumnies, oppressions, and persecutions, by means of the Duke of Lennox, and the pretended Earl of Arran, as had never been before borne in Scotland; that these persons had designed to trouble the whole body of the commonwealth, the ministers of religion, the true professors of the faith, and more particularly the most deserving of the nobility, and those other subjects who had in his youth worthily behaved in his service, many of whom were now exiled; that free access to his person was denied to his best friends; and that, instead of being directed by the counsels of the nobles, he was guided by men connected with those who wished to subvert the true religion, and to bring his Majesty into discredit with his subjects, advising him to be reconciled to his mother, and to associate her with him in the administration of the kingdom. They, therefore, humbly desired his Majesty, in the name of God, and for the love which he bore to pure religion, to the country and the commonwealth, that he would retire to some part of his dominions where his person would be preserved in safety, and the nobility placed in security. *

The King, agitated as he must have been by so

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 129, 130. He gives the supplication at full length, and mentions that it was intended to be presented. Calderwood, p. 129, 130, has also recorded it, and says that it was actually presented. See also his MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 141-143, where it is said that the supplication was presented on the 23d of August.

violent a proceeding, affected to entertain no apprehension, hoping that he would thus more easily make his escape; but when he was attempting to leave the house, the Master of Glammis told him that he could not be permitted to depart. His indignation and his disappointment he could no longer conceal, and he burst into tears; upon which Glammis harshly observed, that it was better that children should weep than bearded men. * CHAP. VI. 1582.

Intelligence of what had happened soon reached Arran, who, boasting that he would surmount all opposition, and drive the lords into mouse-holes, immediately marched to deliver James; but his party was dispersed, his brother was wounded, and he himself was confined in the house of Ruthven, but was not permitted to see the King. †

In a few days his Majesty was removed to Perth. Upon his coming thither, the Duke of Lennox sent some of his friends to inquire what was his real condition, and to inform him, that if he was detained against his will, the Duke would raise forces and rescue him. The messengers were denied a private audience, but when they stated, in the presence of the noblemen, the design of their embassy, James exclaimed, that he was a captive; that he wished his subjects to know this; and that he trusted that the Duke would effectuate his deliverance.

* Spottiswoode, p. 320.

† Spottiswoode as last quoted. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 132.

CHAP. VI. 1582.

The Lords, with dissembled submission and reverence, implored that he would not send this message; assured him that he was at perfect liberty; but at the same time added, that they would not allow Lennox and Arran any longer to mislead him, and to oppress both the church and the kingdom. They therefore requested, that, to prevent harsher measures, he would order the Duke to return to France; and they enjoined the messengers not only to signify this determination to Lennox, but to declare that they were to hazard their lives and fortunes in the enterprise which they had undertaken.*

Proclamation occasioned by it.

In execution of their scheme, they compelled James, who, in his eagerness to save Lennox, resolved not to exasperate them by opposition, to issue a proclamation, in which he assured his subjects that he was not forcibly detained; that the noblemen who now attended him had discharged the duty which they owed to their country; and that he esteemed what they had done good service to himself and the commonwealth. He also prohibited any attempt to disturb the public peace, ordering those who had levied troops immediately to disband them. Lennox knew from whom the proclamation had originated, and did not conceive that he was bound to obey; but upon receiving a letter

* Spottiswoode, p. 320, 321. Camden's Annals, p. 331. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1168.

from James, commanding him to leave the kingdom, his fortitude was shaken. By the advice of his friends he retired to the castle of Dunbarton, of which he was governor, to wait the issue of the present situation of affairs, resolved, if that should be unfavourable to his wishes, to sail for his native country. * CHAP. VI. 1582.

The lords, who had now secured the King, wisely adopted every precaution to gain the support of the different classes of the community. They cheerfully complied with the solicitation of some of the inhabitants of Edinburgh to recal Dury, who had been lately banished. He was invited to preach before the King, and his Majesty, by a letter, asked him to resume the exercise of his pastoral duties amongst the members of his congregation. † Several of the most popular of the clergy were also requested to meet with the council at Stirling. After a declaration had been made to them of the reasons which led to the late change in the court, their advice was solicited respecting the best mode of preserving the peace of the country, and they were desired to collect the wrongs which the Duke of Lennox had done to the church. Davidson, one of the number, embraced this opportunity to Means employed to render it popular. 1st Sept. 15th Sept.

* Spottiswoode, p. 321. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 132. Calderwood's History, p. 131. MS. Hist. Vol. III. p 145, 146. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 333.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of John Dury, p. 26, 27, and Calderwood's MS. Vol. III. p. 148, 149.

CHAP. VI. 1582.

inculcate the necessity of reformation in the moral conduct of those whom he addressed, for which, if the picture which he drew was not exaggerated, there was an imperious call. After enumerating some of the vices which prevailed, he enjoined them to obey the word of God, which hitherto they had not done, "in denuding their hands of the teinds, and applying them for the sustentation of the Gospel, as soon as peace and quietness would permit." *

To satisfy the public mind, they also, about the end of this month, issued a declaration of the motives by which they had been influenced, and of the objects which they had in view in repairing to the presence of his Highness, and remaining with him, artfully combining all the grounds of complaint which had previously existed, and exhibiting themselves as actuated by the most disinterested patriotism. †

9th Oct. It is cautiously approved by the General Assembly.

They were, however, peculiarly anxious to obtain the support of the General Assembly which met in October. For this purpose, the Abbot of Paisley was commissioned to state to the Assembly, that the reasons moving the lords to what they called their action, were the danger of the church of Scotland and of religion,—the evident peril of the King and

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 16.

† Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 79. He mentions, that a copy of this declaration is in the Lambeth Library. The substance of it is given by Calderwood in his History, p. 131, 132, and it is inserted at full length in his MSS. Vol. III. p. 167—168.

his estate, and the confusion and disorder of the commonwealth; to solicit that the Assembly would approve of what had been done, would enjoin all ministers to communicate to their congregations this testimony, and would exhort the nobility faithfully to concur in the good cause. But, although the members of the church certainly considered the removal of the Duke of Lennox and of Arran as of the utmost importance to the religious and civil liberty of the kingdom, and although they sincerely rejoiced, that men whom they dreaded as friendly to the restoration of Popery, had been banished from the presence of the Sovereign, yet they acted with the utmost caution. They ascertained, from the testimony of all who composed the Assembly, that the evils enumerated by the abbot had been really experienced, and they appointed a deputation to wait upon the King, that he might communicate to them his own sentiments. He instructed the commissioners to declare his conviction that religion had been in danger, and that there had been various abuses in the commonwealth, and to state, as his opinion, that his subjects should unite in removing that danger and these abuses. After all these steps, an act was framed, ratifying, in the manner which had been proposed, the conduct of the associated lords, and to that act two persons, by special command from James, signified his assent. * CHAP. VI. 1582. 13th Oct.

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 317. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol.

CHAP. VI.

1582. Convention of estates. 18th Oct.

Still, however, the lords were anxious that the sanction of a convention of estates should be given to what they had done. A convention accordingly met, and the King, in a short speech, stated the reasons for its being assembled; a declaration in favour of the enterprise at Ruthven was framed; those who had been engaged in it were secured against all proceedings, civil or criminal, upon account of that enterprise; Lennox was peremptorily commanded to leave the kingdom, and Arran was ordered to be detained in the castle of Ruthven till Lennox had gone to France.*

Departure and death of Lennox. 22d Dec.

The Duke, despairing of the deliverance of James, now set sail from Scotland, but having been driven back by tempestuous weather, he was advised by the King to travel through England. The attention thus shewn seems to have deeply affected him. He intreated that he might see James merely to bid him farewell, and when this was refused he proceeded on his journey. The depression of his mind, conjoined with the severity of the season, impaired his health. He arrived in safety at Paris,

1583. 26th May.

but, contracting a fever, he soon after died. Find-

III. p. 179—199, and Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 133. Spottiswoode, p. 332. Baillie's Historical Vindication of the Church of Scotland, Part II. p. 25, 26. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Lawson, p. 25. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 122, 123.

* Spottiswoode, p. 323. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 132. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1169. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 116. His account is very inaccurate.

ing his death approaching, he solemnly professed that he adhered to the faith of the church of Scotland, and he refused the service of a priest who came to prepare him for dissolution. CHAP. VI. 1582.

The account of his fate wounded the feelings of James, who had been most tenderly attached to him. He published an account of his friend's dying moments, to vindicate him from the suspicion of insincerity; he became a father to his family, invited them to Scotland, and raised them to some of the highest offices which he had to bestow. * Dark as is the picture of the human heart which history too often presents, it is pleasant to dwell upon the display of benevolent affections, where these affections are generally sacrificed to the coldness of political calculation, or lost in the turbulent and hardening pursuits of ambition. Amiable view of James.

Soon after the King had been restrained by a party of his nobles, the celebrated Buchanan, the bright luminary of Scotland, died at the advanced age of seventy-seven. Of the brilliancy of his genius, the refinement of his taste, the elegance of his mind, and his attainments in classical erudition, his works afford the most delightful proof. Born under circumstances little favourable to the cultivation of his understanding, or to the pursuit of Death of Buchanan. Sept. 28.

* Spottiswoode, p. 324, and 328. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 123. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 333. Camden's Annals, p. 339. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 241—245.

CHAP. VI.

1582.

poetical and literary fame, his admirable talents soon began to unfold. He early gave indications of his future eminence; he maintained an extensive correspondence with men distinguished by science and philosophy; and, amidst all the vicissitudes of a much varied life, he found enjoyment in the studies to which he was ardently devoted. His history has been transmitted by himself, and expanded by writers who have laudably attempted to display his character; but it is not unsuitable to remark, in a work unfolding the progress of truth, that he was a strenuous advocate for the reformation in religion which he happily witnessed, and that he conjoined with his admiration of those by whom it was accomplished, the most sincere and enlightened attachment to the principles of civil liberty. After his return to Scotland, from which he had been many years absent, he became principal of St Leonard's College at St Andrew's, and was held in such estimation, that, although he continued a layman, he was, upon one occasion, elected moderator of the General Assembly. He was, after having been frequently intrusted with important and confidential occupations, chosen to superintend the education, and to form the principles of his Sovereign. In discharging this duty he maintained that steadiness of authority often disregarded by the instructors of princes, and he gained the esteem of his pupil; but the noble sentiments of freedom which he has so feelingly and so eloquently ex-

pressed, he unfortunately either did not convey to the mind of the monarch, or they were soon effaced. He preserved to the end of life the love of literature, and the capacity of prosecuting it; he spent his last years in the composition of his history,—so splendid an example of his intellectual vigour,—and he dedicated it to James only a few days before his death. With all his excellencies, however, it must not be concealed that he was not superior to the influence of prejudice; that he was susceptible of keen resentment; that he was too apt to admit, without scrupulous examination, what gratified his antipathies; and that he is certainly chargeable with having represented in colours which he might have known to be too dark, much which relates to the accomplished, but unhappy Mary. His conversation was most engaging; he uniformly intended to instruct and improve; but he mingled the gaiety and sportiveness of wit and humour with the lessons of wisdom. He was buried without any mark of distinction, and no monument was erected to perpetuate his name. He had indeed prepared for himself a monument, which, till knowledge be extinguished, can never be forgotten; and it was his favourite maxim, often repeated, that he would esteem it as a worthier tribute to his fame, that men should ask why a statue had not been raised to him, than if the most splendid one had pointed out the place in which his ashes were deposited.*

1582.

* Vita Buchanani, prefixed to his works, and written by himself.

CHAP. VI.

1582. 19th ept. Situation of Jam. attracts the notice of foreign powers.

The captivity of James, for such it certainly was, did not escape the notice of Elizabeth and of the King of France, both of whom conceived themselves as called upon to interfere. Within a few weeks, indeed, after the King was detained, the English Queen dispatched two ambassadors to ascertain what was his situation,—to endeavour to incline him to follow the counsels of the lords, and to intercede for the Earl of Angus, who had lived in exile since the death of Morton; but to offer assistance for his deliverance if it should be required. Much as James felt the degraded state to which he was reduced, he dissembled his feelings,—agreed to receive Angus,—and requested the ambassadors to intimate to the Queen that he was perfectly satisfied with those around him, and that they were all willing to obey him, but had formed a bad opinion of some who formerly resided at court. Carey saw the anguish of James, and privately intreated him to declare what he wished to be done; but no measures for his relief were in consequence of this taken by

with the addition to it by Ruddiman. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 125. Some interesting anecdotes of the last days of Buchanan have been preserved by James Melvil, in his MS. Diary, p. 107—109. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. I. under 1539, and Vol. II. p. 178. Wodrow's MSS. Life of Buchanan, Vol. XVI. quarto. In this work, much valuable information is given, but with some reluctance to admit any thing which casts a shade over the virtues of Buchanan. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1170, 1171, compared with Camden's Annals, p. 332. Mackenzie's Life of Buchanan, in Vol. III. of his lives, a most inaccurate work, but preserving the opinions of various writers.

Elizabeth, which in some degree confirms the suspicion that was entertained by the King, that she secretly countenanced the associated lords.* CHAP. VI. 1583.

The King of France also sent two confidential agents; the one came by sea and the other passed through England. Elizabeth suspected that the object of their mission was to attach James to the interests of their master; and she commissioned Davidson to go to Scotland with the French minister, who was passing through her dominions, for the purpose of narrowly watching his conduct. The instructions given by the King of France to his ambassadors, related to the deliverance of James, and to confirming him in favourable sentiments to the court which they represented; but they were also enjoined to treat upon a scheme which had been before agitated, and which had justly excited much alarm in Scotland, of associating him with his mother in the government of his kingdom. The English ambassadors affected the utmost zeal for the king's interest, while they corresponded with the ministers, and laboured to form a party devoted to Elizabeth, but James acted with much caution, that he might not, if he should escape, be entangled by engagements rashly made during his confinement.† January.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 132, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 321. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1168, 1169. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 146, 147.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 207—210, and Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 137, 138. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 17, 18, and of Lawson, p. 19, 20. Compare Spot-

CHAP. VI.

1582. Influence of the King's situation upon the Presbyterians.

Whilst the nobles who had reformed the court surrounded the Sovereign, and guided the measures of government, Melvil and his party acquired new strength. The utmost attention to the wishes of the General Assembly was upon every occasion manifested, the ministers were allowed to preach with the freedom which had lately been attempted to be restrained, and to exercise without control ecclesiastical discipline; whilst many of the grievances against which they had formerly remonstrated in vain, were removed. Montgomery, the destined Archbishop of Glasgow, intimidated by the fate of his patron, solicited the presbyteries of Glasgow and Edinburgh that he might be again received into the church, and Minto, the chief magistrate of Glasgow, who had committed to prison the moderator of the presbytery who opposed the mandate respecting the archbishop, submitted himself to the Assembly. New presbyteries were ordered to be erected in various districts of Scotland, where they had not yet been established; and a commission was given to several of these inferior courts to summon bishops before them, to accuse them of various offences, and to censure them. A number of articles were framed and ordered to be presented to the King and the estates, the preamble to which claimed for the Presbyterian church powers almost as ample as those which had been so se-

1582. October.

tiewoode, p. 324, and continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, . 1170, with Camden's Annals, p. 339.

verely and so justly condemned when claimed by the popish clergy. The Assembly requested that, as the jurisdiction of the church was granted by God the Father, through the mediator Jesus Christ, only to the ministers of his word, the acts of parliament relating to the church should be so enlarged, that none of whatever degree should be entitled to place or displace ministers without the consent of the church, to stop the mouths of preachers, put them to silence, take upon them the judgment of doctrine, or hinder and disannul ecclesiastical censures. Had this been granted by the legislature, government would have rested upon the most insecure foundation; its acts might have been vilified where it was impossible to defend them; the Sovereign himself might have been with impunity reviled, and held up to the detestation of his subjects; while domestic comfort, and the inestimable blessing of a fair reputation, might have been invaded or destroyed by men rendered intolerable by the protection which they had secured. The ministers also supplicated that presbyteries, which, according to the word of God and his Majesty's direction, had been appointed in differents parts of the kingdom, should be approved and established by authority, an admission that they were not yet thus established, and that the agreement at Leith was still legally in force; and this was succeeded by many other requests, some of which shew profound wisdom, but fully evince the high idea which those

CHAP. VI. 1582.

CHAP. VI. 1582.

with whom they originated entertained of the weight of their interference, and of their right rather to dictate to the King, than calmly to represent what they esteemed essential to the existence or the efficacy of their religious establishment. When these articles were presented to the convention of estates, the question was naturally asked, who should sit in parliament and council to represent the church. The Assembly delivered its judgment upon this interesting political difficulty, deciding that it could not agree that any should vote in name of the church but such as were efficient members of it, and had received from it an express commission authorizing them to do so.*

But the greatest advantage which the Presbyterians gained from the enterprise at Ruthven, was the confirmation of what they had earnestly inculcated, that the success of their schemes was the best security against the restoration of Popery. The nobles who now composed the council of the King, declared that they had been much influenced by the danger which threatened the church; they dwelt upon the magnitude of that danger; and plainly shewed, that they regarded a compliance with the requests of the ministers as the surest mode by which it could be averted. The clergy, on their part, naturally, and

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, under proceedings of the Assembly held in October 1582. A full account of the articles is given by Calderwood in his printed History, p. 133—137.

with much apparent reason, magnified the deliver- CHAP. VI.
ance for which they expressed the warmest grati- 1583.
tude; they dwelt with satisfaction upon the effect which had been produced upon Jesuits, and the secret friends of the Papal superstition,—pointing out to the people, that these dreaded enemies were now either leaving the kingdom, or contemplating with despair the strength of that influence which they could not resist. *

In the temper of mind in which the great part of the nation at this time was, the arrival of the French ambassadors was beheld with alarm. The King, dreading that the zeal of the clergy would lead them in their sermons to attack men whom he was anxious to treat with becoming courtesy and respect, by a message to the presbytery of Edinburgh, commu- 8th Jan.
nicated his wish, that the ministers should keep silence as to the ambassadors and the King of France. The members replied, that, in every season of danger to religion, it was their sacred duty to warn their flocks, and they admonished him to be on his guard. Dury, on the first occasion which presented itself, preached with high applause, and, considering the time, with wonderful moderation; for although he entreated those who heard him to beware of the cor-

* Calderwood, in his printed History, p. 199, says, "Since this enterprise, Papists, Jesuits, excommunicated persons, licentious libertines, either left the country, or stooped in silence with external reverence to the word."

CHAP. VI. 1583.

ruptions with which they were threatened, he urged the duty of shewing all offices of humanity to strangers who differed from them as to articles of faith. James was not much displeased with the sermon, although it was in opposition to his wishes; but a deputation was sent to him to enter more fully into a subject so interesting, and to speak with much plainness upon the evils which were to be apprehended from the continued residence of men, sent by a court which had so actively persecuted the Protestant religion. The ministers, however, did not rest satisfied with thus expressing their sentiments, but they had recourse to a step which cannot be justified. La Motte, one of the ambassadors, was about to return to France, and James ordered the Magistrates of Edinburgh, previous to his departure, to give him a public entertainment. The magistrates consulted with the clergy of the city, who decidedly condemned the injunction, admonishing the magistrates not to obey it; and, when they found that the entertainment was to take place, they appointed the day which had been fixed for it as a day of humiliation, called the people to attend divine worship, and in their sermons insisted upon the sinfulness of banqueting the ambassadors. One of them said, "Banqueting is the sign of love. If, therefore, they be sincere, they seal up by this feast their fellowship and true love with the murderers of the people of God, and if they dissemble it is hypocrisy." The tendency of this conduct on the part of the mi-

CHAP. VI.

1583.

ministers, was to occasion tumult, and, by exciting the passions and the zeal of the people, to stimulate them to rebellion, and to lead them to regard the Sovereign and the magistrates, who in duty obeyed his order, as united against the best interests of the kingdom. In various ways the disapprobation of giving any peculiar mark of respect to the emissaries of France, might have been shewn without setting at defiance the civil authority; and although the accounts generally given of this matter have been greatly exaggerated, yet there can be no hesitation in admitting that the ministers deserved the most severe censure for the impetuosity with which they acted.*

Embassy to Elizabeth.

The lords who now had the ascendancy, had great reliance upon Elizabeth, and they urged the King to send to her an embassy under pretence of anew soliciting the lands to which James was by inheritance entitled, but also to communicate to her

* Spottiswoode, p. 324, gives an exaggerated account of the violence of the clergy, charging them with using the most opprobrious language, when speaking of the ambassadors, and with threatening to excommunicate the magistrates. Wodrow, in his MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 17, 18, and in life of Dury, p. 20, 23, has satisfactorily shewn, that they did not proceed so far, although his attempt to vindicate them for appointing the day of the feast as a day of prayer is unsuccessful Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 214—219, and History of Church of Scotland, p. 138. There seems an admission, by this writer, that the ministers were wrong. Robertson, in his History of Scotland, has adopted Spottiswoode's representation, and it is eagerly quoted by Heylin. Camden's Annals, p. 339.

CHAP. VI.

1583. April.

the measures which they had taken for restoring quiet to the kingdom, and to request her assistance if it should be required.* The General Assembly petitioned the King that he would instruct his ambassadors to labour for cordial union between himself, the English Queen, and all princes attached to the true religion, that the sincere professors of the word might be protected from those who were associated in the bloody league of Trent, and also to beg that the Queen would free their brethren in her dominions from that yoke of ceremonies by which they were burdened. He replied, that he considered this latter request as most reasonable, and would urge his envoys to keep it constantly in view. † He probably saw the effect which it would produce. He knew the inflexibility which Elizabeth had shewn in refusing that indulgence as to ceremonies, which so many of her subjects had long and earnestly solicited; he knew that she considered these ceremonies as necessary to give full efficacy to the ordinances of religion; and he might conclude that any interference from Scotland would be deeply resented by her, and might even alienate her from the party by which the interference was dictated. ‡

* Spottiswoode, p. 324, 325. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1171.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 227.

‡ Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 323. Calderwood's History, p. 198.

CHAP. VI.

1583. April. The King makes his escape.

But an event soon took place, which gave a new aspect to the state of civil and ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. From the period that the Duke of Lennox had left the kingdom, and Arran been banished from court, the lords began to relax in the vigilance with which they had guarded their Sovereign; and as he conducted himself with much address, assuming the appearance of perfect contentment with his situation, they trusted that they might occasionally, without hazard, visit their places of residence, and devote some attention to their own pursuits and occupations. * James anticipating this, and unceasingly meditating upon his deliverance from what to him was most grating subjection, at length determined to make a desperate effort to regain the influence which he was entitled to possess. The two ambassadors whom he had sent to England, did not act in concert, and they conducted their embassy so unskilfully, that each brought a different answer. The King summoned a convention to meet at St Andrews, for considering what in consequence of this was to be done, but he disclosed to Colonel William Stewart, in whom he thought that he might safely confide, his intention of delivering himself from the bondage in which he was held. Stewart promised all the assistance which he could give, but wisely

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 133. Calderwood's MS. Hist. p. 205. History of the Church of Scotland, p. 140. Camden's Annals, p. 340. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1171. Wodrow's MSS, Vol. I. folio, in life of Craig, p. 26.

CHAP. VI.

1583. advising him to consult with some of his oldest and most faithful counsellors, he sent for Sir James Melvil, who, having of late lived in retirement, with much reluctance again visited the court. Having arrived at Falkland, the King unfolded to him his purpose, expressing in the strongest language the shame with which he thought of his present condition, and of the contempt with which he must be regarded by other sovereigns. Sir James, who trembled at the danger, endeavoured to reconcile him to his situation, and pointed out the risk of attempting to change it, but finding the King determined, he gave him his best advice, and received from him a solemn assurance, that if he did succeed, he would make a general act of oblivion, comprehending all faults committed during his minority; that he would not punish in their properties or lives any of those who had restrained him; and that, as the surest mode of preserving the tranquillity of the kingdom, he would give full satisfaction to the church. Letters were immediately written to those of the nobility who were anxious for his deliverance; but unable patiently to wait for their assembling, he rashly went to St Andrews, almost without attendants. Melvil was shocked by this imprudence, which he dreaded would prove fatal to the scheme, but he was still more alarmed, when, after returning from securing the castle for his Majesty's reception, he found that he had not, as was agreed upon, issued a proclamation forbidding all but those

to whom letters had been sent, from repairing to St Andrews, having yielded to the insidious advice of the Abbot of Dunfermline, who, though concerned in the Road of Ruthven, now affected to enter keenly into the views of his Sovereign. The evil which had been anticipated resulted from this weakness, but it was by the admirable management of Melvil counteracted, and the King had the happiness once more to find himself at liberty to choose his advisers, and to take an active part in the government of his dominions.* CHAP. VI. 1585. 28th June.

He began his administration by following the wise counsel which had been given to him. He conducted himself with the utmost gentleness to the nobility by whom he had been seized; forgave the Earl of Gowrie, in whose house he had been first detained; and he wrote to Elizabeth, assuring her that he did not intend to make any distinction amongst the nobles, but to give all of them free access to his person, with the exception of those, particularly alluding to the Earl of Arran, who were formally banished from it, and whom he would not recal without consulting her, by whose advice he would His administration.

* Sir James Melvil, whose authority, from the active part which he took in this business, is unquestionable, has given a most interesting account of it in his Memoirs, p. 135, 136. Spottiswoode, p. 325. Calderwood, p. 140. and MSS. Vol. III. p. 145, 146. Wodrow's MS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Lawson, p. 43. Camden's Annals, p. 340. Heylin, in his History of the Presbyterians, p. 229, has most inaccurately described the mode of the King's deliverance.

CHAP. VI. 1583.

be at all times happy to be guided.* To convince his subjects that he was really free, he visited different parts of the kingdom, and even went to the house of Ruthven, which he must have entered with the most painful recollections. †

But the prospect of the restoration of harmony, which for a short time was so bright, soon unfortunately overcast, and the King was betrayed into the most pernicious and dishonourable policy. The Earl of Arran, who had been confined to his house at Kinneil, no sooner heard of what had happened, than he was inspired with the hope of again acquiring that influence over his Sovereign, which he had possessed and abused. He sent to congratulate James upon his freedom, and endeavoured to obtain permission to visit the court. To this several of the lords incautiously gave their consent, but the Earl of Gowrie steadily resisted the proposal. The King himself, notwithstanding all the promises which he had made, was eager that his unworthy favourite should be admitted, and he applied to Sir James Melvil, whom he professed to hold in the highest veneration, to accomplish what he had so much at heart. Melvil acted with honourable intrepidity. He frankly represented, that this man had been in a great degree the cause of that discontent which had led to the enterprize at Ruthven, and that if

Earl of Arran recalled.

* Calderwood, p. 140. Camden's Annals, p. 340.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 137. Spottiswoode, p. 326. Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 99.

he was again received into favour, worse consequences would follow. He embraced this opportunity of pointing out the importance of caution in the choice of counsellors, and the advantages which the King might derive from listening to the deliberations of those whom he had selected. James, with a weakness which never forsook him, pleaded, that Arran might be permitted merely to kiss his hand, after which he would immediately remove him from court. This request could not be decently resisted, and Arran had the satisfaction of being introduced to the King. As was to be expected, the promise of dismissal was violated. He insinuated himself as formerly into the confidence of James, changed the mode of proceeding which had been recommended, and soon made his own will the rule of administration. *

Proceedings against the noblemen who had been accessory to the Road of Ruthven. 31st July.

The first measure which this corrupt favourite prevailed upon James to adopt, was, in express violation of the most sacred engagements, to issue a declaration of his displeasure on account of what had happened at Ruthven, and requiring all who had been engaged in it to solicit pardon, and not,

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 138, 139. Spottiswoode, p. 326. Calderwood, p. 141. MSS. Vol. III. p. 254, 255. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1172, 1173. Camden's Annals, p. 310. This writer mentions the recal of Arran, and that James then bent all his efforts to compose divisions; a strange proof of the influence of prejudice, or of an inaccuracy of information most culpable in a historian.

CHAP. VI.

1583.

by their after conduct, to force him to remember what he was desirous to forget. * Nothing could have more effectually lowered the King in the estimation of all who had the slightest regard to those honourable principles by which a Monarch should in every situation be directed. It filled thoseagainst whom it was directed with the justest indignation, and fully aware that from Arran, by whom it was dictated, they had no favour to expect, they took every precaution for their safety. They were immediately after the proclamation commanded to confine themselves to particular places specified in the order, and as they all, with the exception of the Earl of Angus, refused to comply, they were denounced as rebels, loyal subjects were charged to be in readiness to resist their attempts, and most of them, finding that they could not remain in security, left the kingdom. †

Interference of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth having been informed of this revolution in the Scotish court, and being much displeased that the lords who had been declared rebels had

* Spottiswoode, p. 326, has inserted the declaration, and some particulars respecting it are recorded by Melvil, p. 139. Calderwood, p. 139, 140, has very strikingly exhibited the pledges given by James that he should never accuse or pursue any one for what had happened at Ruthven, and he mentions the substance of the declaration at p. 143. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Lawson, p. 23.

† Spottiswoode, p. 326. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 139. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 139. Wodrow's MS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 21. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 117.

been removed from the councils of their sovereign, wrote to James to inspire him with more favourable sentiments towards them; and she sent the aged and venerable Walsingham to enforce what she had recommended. James answered the ambassador with much prudence, and great apparent candour, and inspired him with a high opinion of his talents and discernment; but Walsingham could not conceal his disgust at the influence of Arran, and declared, that had he suspected this nobleman's being in such credit with the King, he would not have undertaken his journey to Scotland.* CHAP. VI. 1583. 12th Sept.

Arran daily received new marks of the royal favour. He was made captain or governor of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling; the high office of chancellor was conferred on him; and, rendered thus formidable, he proceeded to the most deplorable excesses in gratifying his avarice, and satiating his revenge. After a faint struggle, they who resisted him were compelled to flee from Scotland; the Earl of Gowrie, who had lingered in the kingdom after he was ordered to leave it, was, in the following year, executed; and such was the unhappy state of the nation, that all the kindly intercourse of society was suspended, each man dreading that his neighbour was a spy or an enemy.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 148. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 259—263. The King's answers are inserted by Wodrow, in his Appendix to the Life of Lawson, MSS., Vol. XIII. quarto.

CHAP. VI.

1583. Yet Arran did not consider himself as perfectly secure without the support of Elizabeth; and although he had removed from the King those whom he knew to be most acceptable to that princess, he made an attempt to gain her favour. She returned some general assurances of her friendly disposition, upon which he might have perceived that no reliance could be placed, but they confirmed him in the severe and tyrannical measures by which he disgusted and irritated the most powerful and the most respectable of his countrymen. *

The church harassed, and ministers banished.

But he did not confine his severity to the nobility, and to those whose property he wished to transfer to himself,—he increased the horror with which he was regarded, by imprudently offending the church, and banishing the most popular and the

Aug. 22. most revered of the clergy. The hostility intended against them soon became apparent. Several of the most respectable of the ministers were called before the King and council, and urged to disapprove of the Raid of Ruthven, and to express their concurrence in the policy which now was adopted. They acted in this difficult situation with much prudence. Apprehensive, that, if they ventured rashly to state their sentiments, they might use expressions

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 155, 156. Spottiswoode, p. 331, 332, and 338, 339. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 139. Camden's Annal., p. 352, 353. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1179.

upon which criminal procedure might be instituted against them, they craved permission to reply in writing to the questions which had been proposed to them. They accordingly, in a paper displaying much address and moderation, declared, that they adhered to the act of the General Assembly respecting the attempt at Ruthven,—that they were anxious to promote tranquillity,—and that they did not conceive that it fell within the sphere of their duty to enter upon political discussions. They intreated that surmises with regard to the views and principles of the ministers should not be hastily credited; and, reminding his Majesty that they had appeared as private individuals, they recommended to him, that if he were desirous to obtain the judgment of the church, he would apply to the General Assembly. * CHAP. VI. 1583.

When the General Assembly met, the state of the kingdom was taken into its consideration, and a list of grievances was presented to the King, indicating with what feelings the members regarded the changes which had lately taken place. They plainly insinuated, that James was secretly inclined to favour Popery; and they did not hesitate to blame his public conduct as a sovereign. They complained, that he had taken into his service men of dissolute life, who had never given any testimo- Oct. 10.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 256, 257, and Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Lawson, p. 24, 25.

CHAP. VI. 1583.

ny of their regard for religion, whilst he removed others who were known to be zealous in the cause of God, and who had been faithful to his Majesty from his infancy; that since his acceptance of the government, the church had received many fair promises, none of which had been performed, but, on the contrary, its liberties and privileges were daily infringed; that there was an universal murmur, that no man could be assured of his property or his life, the laws of the country being wholly perverted; and they concluded their enumeration of no fewer than twelve subjects of complaint, with this remarkable petition, that, regretting the divisions of the nobility, one part seeking the ruin of the other, they did intreat his Majesty to call to his councils the wisest and most candid of that order, and by their advice to take some moderate course for uniting the hearts of all good subjects in maintaining of God's truth, in preserving his highness's person and estate, and the comfort of all who were grieved at the present division. *

The anxiety inspired by the dangers with which they were threatened, did not draw away the attention of the clergy from the state of philosophical and religious opinion in the various universities of

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 334—336. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 265—282, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 142. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Smeton, by whom the paper was probably composed, p. 16—18. Spottiswoode, p. 327.

Scotland; but, deeply impressed with the importance of instilling right principles into the young, and sensible that many errors, derived from the writings of profane authors, had been, and still were inculcated, they appointed some of the most enlightened of the ministers to collect these errors; and they admonished the professors of colleges respecting the manner in which they were to conduct their teaching. This shews, that the church was then considered as entitled to watch over the universities, and to censure opinions which were conceived hostile to the best interests of religion and morality. Such a power, wherever vested, might be abused; but it is certainly of vast moment, that the vain or pernicious speculations of ingenious men, when they are not submitted to the public, should be in some manner pointed out as tending to undermine the principles of those to whom they are addressed. To neglect this, from a morbid desire to avoid what has been stigmatized as illiberality, is to foster a practical evil, which may be attended with consequences to individuals and to society, which will be deplored with unavailing sorrow. *

1583.

To the grievances which were presented to the King he lost no time in giving an answer. With much

* Buik of Universal Kirk, under Assembly, October 1583. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 26—28. Calderwood, in his printed History, p. 829, 830, has inserted the list of errors produced to the Assembly, which shews that there was abundant cause for its interference.

CHAP. VI.

1583. apparent fairness, he explained and justified what had been so unfavourably viewed; but the abuses and the oppression which were daily witnessed, destroyed the effect which might have been produced by his declaration; and events, which quickly followed, confirmed, in the public estimation, the charges which the Assembly had not unobscurely insinuated respecting the intentions and the culpable negligence of the Sovereign.* If any object of policy was more obviously of importance than another at this juncture of the King's affairs, it was to gain the confidence of the clergy, and through them to found his government upon the affection of his people. This had been pointed out to him by some of the wisest and most attached of his friends; but although he was at one time convinced that he ought to follow their counsel, he soon was

December. induced to pay to it no regard.† Durie, who had been before banished, was summoned before the council, for having, in one of his sermons, vindicated the lords and gentlemen who had seized the King at Ruthven; and, as he defended what he had said, he was ordered to leave Edinburgh, and confine himself to the town of Montrose. His session

* Spottiswoode has given the answers, p. 328. Calderwood, without quoting them, says, that the commissioners received small contentment.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 134, compared with the excellent letter which Sir James addressed to his Sovereign, and which he has inserted in his Memoirs, p. 113—116.

were disposed to protect him; but seeing that it was impossible for him to remain in peace, he yielded, receiving from those amongst whom he had laboured, an ample testimony to the purity of his life and the soundness of his doctrine. * CHAP. VI. 1588.

This ill-judged interference was followed by more vigorous measures against Melvil himself, who was revered by the people, and justly held in the highest estimation by the clergy. He was ordered to appear before the Council, on account of some expressions which it was alleged that, in a public discourse, he had used. Alarm was immediately excited. All the members of the university, of which he was so distinguished an ornament, subscribed a declaration that they had never heard him deliver a sentiment which did not tend to the glory of God, and the establishment of the Crown; and commissioners from various presbyteries were sent to protest against what was deprecated as an invasion of the liberties of the church. To their remonstrances, and to the strong justification of the University, no attention was paid, and Melvil alone was admitted to the Council. After complaining, in general, of the inconvenience which resulted from the interference of the civil power with the sermons of ministers, he offered, conscious that the charge against him was malicious and unfounded, to repeat 1584. Feb. 11.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Durie, p. 30, 31. The account of this given by Spottiswoode, p. 329, 330, is very inaccurate.

CHAP. VI.

1584. Feb.

what he had said, declaring, that neither in the sermon for which he was accused, nor in any other, had he spoken to the dishonour of the King's Majesty, but, on the contrary, that he had always exhorted to obedience the subjects of his highness, whom God, in his mercy, had placed lawful King and supreme magistrate in the civil government of the kingdom. His statement and explanation, which certainly formed a sufficient vindication, should, without hesitating, have been accepted; but, with astonishing infatuation, although his innocence was admitted, he was required to appear next day, and to submit himself and his doctrines to the judgment of the King and council. This he could not do, without abandoning all the privileges for which he had strenuously contended; he refused to comply; and, in an admirable paper, he detailed the reasons by which he was influenced. One of these was the claim of the church, that all ministers should first be judged for any offence by their brethren, a claim inconsistent with the fundamental maxims which should regulate criminal procedure, but which James had incautiously, in some degree, a little before admitted. This declining the jurisdiction of the sovereign was made the ground of a new charge; he defended himself with much warmth; but he was ordered to be confined in the castle of Blackness. He did not, however, wait till the sentence was carried into execution; but, either dreading that his life was in danger, or con-

Feb. 17.

ceiving that he would thus embarrass the faction guided by the Earl of Arran, he fled from Scotland, and took refuge in Berwick. * The clergy did not conceal the feelings with which they regarded the banishment, for such in effect it was, of a man to whom they considered the church as indebted for the admirable system of polity which had been introduced; they declared from their pulpits that the light of the country for learning, the person best qualified to resist the adversaries of religion, was exiled, and compelled, in order to save his life, to leave the kingdom. These discourses produced a strong sensation amongst the people, and galled or alarmed the court. The King, to quell the public mind, issued a proclamation, in which he affirmed, that there had been no intention to proceed with rigour against Melvil, and that his flight had been entirely voluntary; but little attention was paid to these assertions, and the honour of his Majesty was lowered in the estimation of his subjects. †

CHAP. VI.

1584. Feb.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 304—316, and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 144—147. Spottiswoode, in his short account of this business, has given rather an uncandid representation of the part which Melvil acted, concealing the fact that he was innocent of what was first laid to his charge. Wodrow, in his Life of Melvil, Vol. I. folio, of his MSS. has fully detailed the proceedings, and made some observations upon Spottiswoode, p. 30—41. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 129—133.

† Calderwood, p. 147, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 330. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 41.

CHAP. VI.

1584. Acts of parliament relating to the church.

The temper of the clergy, and the undisguised manner in which they avowed their principles, increased the aversion with which James, notwithstanding his occasional professions, had constantly viewed the popular assemblies and the free discussions of the Presbyterians, and, not contenting himself with acts of severity against the individual ministers who offended him, he resolved to apply to parliament for statutes to restrain the freedom of discourse, and to strengthen episcopacy, which appeared to be so much more favourable to the royal prerogative. Accordingly, in a parliament which

May 27. was held in the course of this year, several very important laws, deeply affecting the church, were enacted. The first of these laws was entitled, an act confirming the King's majesty's royal power over all estates and subjects within the realm, and was intended to compel the ministers to submit in all cases to the jurisdiction of the King and the council, which, in ecclesiastical matters, they had of late uniformly refused to do. A second law asserted the authority of the three estates of parliament, evidently with the design of supporting the bishops; and by a third, all jurisdictions and judgments not approved by parliament, and all assemblies and conventions, without the King's permission, were prohibited. The intention of this act is explained by the assertion, that the form of ecclesiastical polity, to which a reference was made, had not been approved by the King and his three estates. In a

statute with regard to the deprivation of ministers, containing many excellent regulations, enforcing the residence of the clergy, and preventing pluralities, it was declared to be competent to the ordinary, to suspend from the functions of the ministry those who within his district violated the laws. An additional act was framed against slanderers of the King and his progenitors, with a view to the sermons of the clergy, but principally against Buchanan's History and his treatise *De jure regni apud Scotos.* Both these interesting books were ordered to be delivered to the secretary by those who had them in their possession, that they might be purified from the passages which had given offence. Happily it was impossible to carry this scheme into execution; for an edition of these valuable compositions having been printed at Geneva, copies were widely distributed through the continent of Europe, and their purity ensured against the despicable faction which would have deprived Scotland of the most brilliant productions of a man who was an honour to his country.* 1584.

The ministers had obtained information that some resolutions, hostile to the Presbyterian discipline and polity, were to be proposed to the es-

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 237—239. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 365—368, and Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 155. Spottiswoode, p. 333. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Craig, p. 27. and Vol. XVI. quarto, in Life of Buchanan.

CHAP. VI.

1584. tates, and they commissioned David Lindsay, of whose prudence and moderation the King had justly formed a very favourable opinion, to announce their fears, and to solicit that nothing might be done in parliament prejudicial to the liberties of the church; but this good man, when he was entering the palace, was, by the command of Arran, arrested, and carried to the castle of Blackness. An attempt was made to remonstrate to parliament, but the persons employed were denied access. The

May 23. council had no doubt that, notwithstanding all this, the ministers would, on the first Sunday, express what they thought; and, to prevent it, the magistrates of Edinburgh were commanded to silence and even to force from the pulpit any preacher who should speak against the acts. To this odious office they felt much aversion, and, under a constitutional pretext, they delayed performing it till the acts had been, in the usual form, proclaimed. The ministers, thus secured against interruption, dwelt upon the danger of the church; and Robert Pont, with Balquancal, attended when the proclamation

May 25. Ministers protest against them. of the statutes took place, and, observing the forms prescribed by the law of Scotland, they formally, in name of the church, protested against them. Pont was for this offence deprived of his situation as a senator of the college of justice, while Bal-

May 27. quancal and his colleague Lawson, dreading the utmost severity of punishment, with which indeed

they had been threatened by Arran, left their charge and fled to Berwick.*

1584.

By these events the minds of the people were strongly agitated; suspicion was excited that the King had become hostile even to the Reformation itself; and so widely was this disseminated, and so readily believed, that he esteemed it prudent or necessary to publish an explanation of his conduct. To remove the aspersion of his being inclined to Popery, he subjoined to the explanation several articles with the design of satisfying his subjects that he had nothing more in view than to settle the form and the polity of the church. His appeal, however, produced no effect; the passions of men, excited as they had been, were sedulously heightened by many writings admirably adapted to make an impression, and to confirm those unfavourable sentiments of the court which its own ill-judged policy had created. †

June 2. Correspondence of the banished ministers with their congregations in Edinburgh.

The ministers of Edinburgh, soon after their arrival at Berwick, addressed a letter to their congre-

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 368, and printed Hist. p. 155, 156, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 333. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Lawson, p. 26, 27, and of Pont, p. 14, 15. See also Life of Balquancal in Vol. XIV. quarto, of the MSS. Life of James Melvil, p. 156, 157. It is not unamusing to compare with the authentic statements which the above writers have preserved, Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 232, and Camden's Annals, p. 361, 362.

† Calderwood's printed Hist. p. 171—174, where there is a full account of the declaration which was written by Adamson. Baillie's Historical Vindication of the Church of Scotland, Part ii.

CHAP. VI. 1584.

gations, stating the causes of their leaving their charge; lamenting the violence and cruelty with which good men had to struggle; and representing that, by the acts of parliament, secretly and unconstitutionally passed, the whole discipline, which after so much labour had been established, was in a moment overthrown; and that such was the confusion of the kingdom, and such the tyranny exercised against all who adhered to the ministers, that they had consulted the safety of their people in withdrawing themselves from them. The council and session of Edinburgh, afraid of irritating government, shewed this letter to the King, who meanly insisted upon an answer to it, composed by the archbishop of St Andrews, being sent, in which the people were made to condemn, in the most offensive language, the pastors whom they revered, and to cast them off as unworthy of the office with which they had been intrusted. This order created much perplexity; but after a struggle between their sympathy for their teachers, and their fears for their own safety, several subscribed the answer, and it was immediately dispatched. Upon the amiable mind of Lawson it made a deep and painful impression. He had been much affected by the scenes which he had lately witnessed; and when

Oct. 12.

he saw the names of some who had been his strenuous supporters, and had lived with him in the confidence of friendship, attached to a writing so loaded with reproach, his spirit sunk,—he in vain at-

tempted to dissipate the melancholy which oppressed him, by variety of scene, and by visiting the universities in England. He at length came to London, and, after lingering for a few weeks he expired; his last moments being soothed by the kind attention of those with whom, in happier days, he had acted, and by those hopes which his virtuous and pious principles rendered to him full of delight *. CHAP VI. 1584. Death of Lawson.

The death of Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow, and of Arbuthnot, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, two of the most amiable and enlightened of the clergy, happened about this period. Both were in the vigour of life, and their premature dissolution, while it deepened the gloom which hung over Scotland, strengthened the indignation with which the people saw the court sacrificing to the passions of corrupt men the liberty of the kingdom, the comfort of many venerable friends of religion, and even the security of the Protestant faith †. Dec. 6. and Oct. 20.

The part which Adamson, the Archbishop of St Andrews, took in the measures now adopted, in-

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 376—409, and 534—544. Printed History, p. 156—158, and 166. Spottiswoode, p. 334, 335. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Lawson, p. 26—30, and 36—38. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 224.

† Spottiswoode, with honourable candour, has paid a deserved tribute to the memory of these amiable men, p. 337, 338. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Lives of Smeton and Arbuthnot

CHAP. VI. 1584.

creased the abhorrence with which these measures were viewed. This prelate was possessed of respectable talents and considerable eloquence, but his integrity was undermined by his ambition, and he had not hesitated to barter for its poor rewards the dignity of his character. Whilst the Presbyterian party was zealously urging the Second Book of Discipline, and were daily gaining strength, he judged it prudent to give to them his countenance; he affected to be most solicitous for their success, and he even subscribed the book as a testimony of his approbation. Yet notwithstanding this public pledge, he now came forth from his castle, in which, under pretence of illness, or from real disease, he had in a great measure confined himself, and dictated the most obnoxious statutes, and the severest proceedings against the men with whom he had not scrupled to associate.* Not satisfied with having driven from Scotland some of the most distinguished of the ministry, he suggested the importance of compelling those who remained to give their consent to the acts which had been reprobated as subverting presbytery. He had obtained for himself a commission empowering him to exercise within his own diocese all the powers with which former primates had been invested, and articles were

Efforts of the King to gain the support of the clergy.

* Melvil's MS. Diary, p. 109, in which there is a most interesting and authentic account of this matter, compared with Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Pont, p. 11, 12. Calderwood's MSS. Hist. Vol. III. an. 1584. Row's MS. Hist. p. 34. Melvil, in his Memoirs, p. 150, speaks of the meanness of the archbishop.

CHAP. VI.

proposed to the ministers, who were threatened with the loss of their benefices, if they hesitated to subscribe, the tenor of which was, that they should yield obedience to the bishops. Numbers refused thus to betray their principles, and defended their conduct with ingenuity and force of argument; but after much resistance, Craig, Erskine of Dun, and a few others, were prevailed upon to sign, having obtained permission to add this qualifying clause, in as far as the articles agreed with the word of God.* Pont remained inflexible, and he was compelled to withdraw from Scotland.† 1584. Nov.

Plans for removing Arran from the King.

The whole proceedings of government led the people to identify with their own happiness the recal of those lords, who, after Arran's return to court, had taken refuge in England. To prevent their residence upon the borders of Scotland was one great object of the negociations which he had with Elizabeth; and, in his anxiety to guard against all correspondence with them, he had ordered the execution of two persons, who had written to the commendator of Dryburgh upon their private affairs. ‡ Similar

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. under Life of Craig, p. 26—38. There is given by that writer in the place quoted, a most interesting account of the resistance made by those who afterwards signed, and a paper written by them, which I intended to insert in the appendix. Calderwood's MS. Vol. III. p. 529, and 602, and printed History, p. 166—171. Spottiswoode, p. 336. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 193—196, and 198—200.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Pont, p. 15. In Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 43, his subscription is mentioned. Wodrow apologizes for his compliance.

‡ Spottiswoode, p. 336. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland.

CHAP. VI.

1585. acts of cruelty filled the nation with abhorrence, and the insolence of Arran himself, who not only seized the property, and outraged the feelings of the most dignified of the nobility, but, by formally renouncing any title which he had to the crown, virtually insinuated that such a right he really possessed, determined even those in whom he placed the fullest confidence to betray him.* The master of Gray, who had gained, in a considerable degree, the esteem of James, had, although a Catholic, been sent to England to treat concerning the banished lords; but he and the justice-clerk, who had been associated with him, corresponded with those against whom they professed to act; and, with the concurrence of Elizabeth, made arrange-

April. ments for their return to their country.† For carrying on their scheme, Wotton, a dexterous and artful negociator, was dispatched to the Scotish

June. court. He was instructed to use every method of ingratiating himself with James; he shared in the amusements of that monarch; and, assuming the appearance rather of a companion than a statesman, effectually promoted the object which he had in view. The ostensible ground of his embassy was to propose, that James should unite with all Protestant princes in defeating what was called the

* Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 140, from Records of Parliament.

† Spottiswoode, p. 338. Camden's Annals, p. 561. Melvil' Memoirs, p. 158.

Holy League,—an agreement between several Catholic sovereigns to extirpate the Protestant religion. To this the King readily consented; and he called a meeting of the estates, by which an act, in conformity to the solicitations of the ambassador, was passed; but Wotton still remained in the country, preparing for the return of the lords, and forming a party to welcome and support them.* The accidental death of Sir Francis Russel, in a tumult upon the borders, an event for which Arran was not forward to give the satisfaction required by Elizabeth, had confirmed her resolution to proceed against him; and, under her protection, the lords marched towards Scotland to extort from the King permission to return to their native land, and to destroy the influence which Arran had so long possessed. Blinded by the efforts of those with whom he was surrounded, and by the dexterity of Wotton, James did not suspect what was in agitation, till he heard that a formidable force was marching into his dominions.† He immediately summoned his subjects to attend him, but Wotton prevented the expedition; and when he was informed that the exiled lords were prepared for their

CHAP. VI.

1585.

July 31.

* Spottiswoode, p. 339, 340. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 158, 159, and 161. Camden's Annals, p. 374, 375. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 302. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1180, 1181.

† Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 804.; and History of the Church of Scotland, p. 185. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 161.

CHAP. VI.

1585.

enterprise, he left the kingdom. The confusion occasioned by this sudden departure, prevented all proper arrangements for strengthening the castle of Stirling, or for enabling the King to resist; and the lords, aware of this, hastily advanced. Having arrived within half a mile of Stirling, they put themselves in order of battle, and, upon the approach of night, they were received into the town. In the morning they surrounded the castle; and James, sensible that opposition was vain, sent two of the council to remonstrate with the leaders, and to ask an explanation of their conduct. They returned a submissive answer, expressing their sorrow that they had been compelled to act as they had done; assuring him, that they had no intention to force his inclinations; and that, if they were admitted to his presence, they would, upon their knees, implore forgiveness. This political humility mitigated the King's indignation; and, probably desirous to be freed from Arran, whose arrogance and violence must have become disgusting to him, he permitted them, after he had stipulated for the safety of some of his attendants, to come to him. Lord Hamilton, who had joined the Earls of Marr and Angus, and Lord Maxwell, afterwards created Earl of Morton, the nobles who had been banished, as implicated in the affair at Ruthven, addressed the King in name of the whole, soliciting his favour. The consciousness of the injustice which had been done to the house of Hamilton, influenced

James; he graciously replied to the representative of it; and, satisfied of the expediency of yielding to the measures suggested, he granted the pardon which was solicited, and new-modelled his court. Arran, stripped of his honours, lived in ignominious retirement; the castle of Dunbarton was entrusted to Lord Hamilton,—the castle of Stirling was restored to the Earl of Marr; and the administration of affairs was once more committed to the ancient nobility, and to the most respectable subjects in the kingdom. * CHAP. VI. 1585.

Soon after this change, the parliament met at Linlithgow. The King went to it in great state, attended by a number of the nobles. In his speech, he lamented the divisions which had lately harassed the kingdom,—expressed his conviction that the lords who had returned to Scotland had been actuated by the most patriotic motives,—and declared his intention not only to settle the nation, but to restore to them their estates and their honours, as fully as if these had never been forfeited, or their possessors denounced as rebels. This was accordingly done; and a commission was given to Lord Hamilton and to the Earl of Huntly to pursue and apprehend Arran. Of this, information was con- December.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 168—170. Spottiswoode, p. 341—343. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 139—141. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 228—231. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. III. p. 804—809, and printed History, p. 185, 186. Camden's Annals, p. 377, 378.

CHAP. VI.

veyed to that degraded favourite, and he succeeded in making his escape. *

1585. Effect of thi hange upon the state of the church.

With the lords most of the exiled ministers who survived returned to Scotland, and the rest were invited to follow. † From the union which had subsisted between these lords and the leaders of the church, the clergy not unnaturally expected that all their privileges would be restored, and that the power of holding General Assemblies, which had been for some time suspended, would no longer be withheld. The concessions to be made to the church did immediately engage the anxious attention of the council, and many were of opinion that every thing should be granted; but to this the King, irritated at the freedom with which public measures had been discussed in the pulpit, was decidedly averse, and through his influence an act was passed in parliament, that all who slandered his Majesty's government, or, by misinterpreting its proceedings, created a misunderstanding between his Highness and the nobility, should suffer death. ‡ In attempting to abridge the privilege claimed by the ministers of animadverting, without control,

* Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 303, 304, where there is the substance of the King's speech. Murray's Acts of Parliament, p. 255, 256. Melvil, p. 170. Spottiswoode, p. 343.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under lives of Andrew Melvil, Pont, and Davidson. Addition C. to Pont's Life, in Wodrow, Vol. XIV. quarto.

‡ Maitland's Acts of Parliament, p. 252.

on the arrangements of government, James shewed a laudable concern for the happiness of his kingdom, and for the prerogatives of his crown. Their plea, that all ecclesiastical matters, and every thing in the most distant degree relating to them, should not fall under the cognizance of the civil power till the opinion of the General Assembly, or the other judicatories of the church, had been delivered, was inconsistent with the existence of a well-ordered system of political administration, and was vesting men, whose jurisdiction was not defined, with the most alarming control over the sovereign and the estates; whilst the practice of stirring up the multitude by inflammatory representations, from the places which should have been consecrated to moral and religious instruction, was a prostitution of Christianity, converting what was intended to disseminate benevolence and charity into a system of libel and abuse. Yet the King did not act with the prudence which his circumstances required. Eager in his desire to establish episcopacy, he was reluctant to make the concessions, without which he might have seen that he would be again assailed by the ministers; he denied what he might have granted, and what, had it been conceded at this time, would have probably remedied those abuses in the church which afterwards gave occasion to the most deplorable evils. CHAP. VI. 1585.

The clergy held different meetings to deliberate upon the nature of the requests which they should

CHAP. VI.

1585. make to the Sovereign. They agreed to solicit that all the acts of the parliament of last year should be repealed; and when the nobility, in whom they confided, declined to interfere, they presented to James what they stiled animadversions upon the acts of that parliament. There can be little doubt that they were at this moment desirous to unite with the government, and that, if the King had freely given to them, what, in a few years after, was given, he might have secured their attachment and support. He saw the importance of the opportunity, and he was anxious, without entirely sacrificing his own views, to improve it. In answer to the paper of the ministers, he himself composed a declaration, in which he interpreted the acts in such a manner as softened the prejudices with which they had been regarded. He assured the clergy that he had no intention to take away any liberty granted by God to his church; he explained his sentiments respecting the episcopal office; and he thus concluded:—

7th Dec.

"Thus much for my declaration, promised at our last conference, so far as shortness of time would permit, wherein whatsoever I have affirmed I will offer me to prove by the word of God, purest ancient and modern neotericks, and by the examples of the best reformed kirks; and whatsoever is omitted for lack of time, I remit first to a convention of godly and learned men, and next to a General Assembly, that by these means a godly policy being settled, we may uniformly arm ourselves against

1587.

the common enemy, whom Satan else, feeling the breath of God, maketh to rage in these latter days." *

Some of the most violent of the ministers, disappointed at not obtaining all which they had expected, or irritated by a sermon in which Craig reproved those who had refused to subscribe the bond which had been proposed to the clergy, made use of language, in their discourses, for which they were most justly imprisoned; but the great body of them, although perfectly steady in adhering to their principles, acted with considerable moderation. They thanked the King for his declaration; humbly represented, that, in order to the establishment of a permanent system of ecclesiastical polity, there should be much mature deliberation, both of native and foreign divines; and solicited, that, in the mean time, or till the next meeting of Parliament, they should be permitted to hold their ordinary assemblies, and to administer discipline as they had done before the obnoxious acts of the legislature; adding, that they were at all times ready to give an account to God, to his Majesty, and to his council, if they did any thing contrary to their duty, or to disturb the commonwealth. †

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 170, 171. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. III. p. 812, 827, 828. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, in which the King's declaration is inserted, p. 188—196. Spottiswoode, p. 343. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of John Craig, p. 42. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 230—251.

† Calderwood's History, p. 187 and 196, 197. Spottiswoode an

CHAP. VI.

1586. Conference appointed, and articles agreed upon by those who attended. 2d Jan.

In consequence of the King's proposal, a conference took place between some of the council and several of the calmest and most moderate of the clergy. A number of articles were agreed upon as the ground-work of future ecclesiastical regulations. After reasoning, it was admitted that the name of a bishop hath a special function and charge annexed to it by the word of God; that bishops should be recognized in the church as the presidents or moderators of the presbyteries within their dioceses; that they should act with the advice of presbyteries, should receive presentations to livings, and admit or deprive ministers, with the concurrence of the majority of the presbyteries. They were to be appointed to particular churches, at which they were to reside, and to discharge the pastoral duty; but still they were to be visitors within their own bounds, and they were to be amenable to the Assembly for their doctrine and their lives. Some of the articles related to the erection and powers of presbyteries,—others defined what was comprehended under the jurisdiction of the church,—and the whole were referred to the consideration of the General Assembly, which was soon to be held.*

last quoted. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Craig, p. 41, 42. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 252.

* Calderwood, p. 197—199, has recorded the articles from a copy which he considered as authentic. Spottiswoode, p. 344, refers to them, and mentions what is implied by Calderwood, that the full determination with regard to them was referred to the ensuing General Assembly.

CHAP. VI.

It is evident, from the result of this conference, that there was, in many of the clergy, a desire to act with more moderation than before the late troubles; but Melvil retained the ardent zeal by which he had distinguished himself, and, irritated at the archbishop of St Andrews, whom he considered as the great instrument in the persecution of the ministers, he employed his influence with the Synod of Fife in procuring a sentence of excommunication against the primate, for having framed the acts of parliament which subverted the polity, and for having written the King's declaration by which these were followed. James Melvil commenced the attack in language which, both from his situation and the state of affairs, it was most improper to employ; and enforced the propriety of inflicting on Adamson the severest censure. To this many objected, as dangerous and inexpedient; others asked if the archbishop had been cited; while some of the most violent, declaring that the cause was the cause of God, insisted that no citation was requisite. It having, however, been agreed to summon the primate, he appeared, but declined the authority of the court. This being disregarded, he replied to the accusation; but the synod was not satisfied with his answers, and, impelled by Melvil, it rashly determined that he should be excommunicated; although, upon perceiving its violence, he had appealed to the King, the council, and the three estates, or to any lawful assembly called by

1586. Melvil's conduct. April.

CHAP. VI. 1586.

the Sovereign. The moderator, though no friend to the archbishop, refused to pronounce the sentence; but a young clergyman, to shew the fervour of his zeal, irregularly performed this office. The archbishop should have rested satisfied with the appeal which he had taken, but he imprudently retaliated, by excommunicating Andrew Melvil and his nephew; thus increasing the ferment which he should have endeavoured to allay. For this part of Melvil's conduct, it is impossible to offer any satisfactory justification. Whatever had been the part which Adamson acted, the influence of his councils was at present suspended; it was the interest of all parties to diminish the violence of spirit which late events had excited; and, even should it be conceded that there was room for accusing the primate, the mode in which it was done evinces rather the intemperance of a zealot, than the manly procedure of one who was only solicitous that justice should be done.

The King was much exasperated when he heard what had taken place; he considered the whole as intended by Melvil to keep alive dissension, but he did not interfere, wisely referring the matter to the General Assembly. *

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. III. p. 858—866, and printed History, p. 199—205, where a very minute detail of this business is given, which may be compared with the short and temperate narration of Spottiswoode, p. 345. Row's MSS. p. 37. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 254—256. Wodrow, in his Life of Andrew Melvil, merely mentions the fact that the archbishop was excommunicated.

CHAP. VI.

1586.

The Assembly, after an interval of nearly two years, met in May, and its meeting was considered by the great part of the community as the pledge of happier times. The King endeavoured so far to guide its decisions, as to obtain its sanction of the articles respecting the polity of the church, which had at the conference been approved. Having, by his commissioners, called the members to the royal chapel in Holyroodhouse, he addressed them, intimating that his great objects in convening them, were to give them assurance of his steady attachment to the Protestant religion, and that they might resolve upon a form of discipline and church government agreeable to the word of God, and to be established throughout the kingdom. They chose as moderator, David Lindsay, minister of Leith, a man of great moderation and acceptable to the King; and they then proceeded to the discussion of the interesting subjects which had been submitted to them by the Sovereign. They assumed, as an incontrovertible principle, that, by the word of God, the epithet of bishop was applied to all pastors; but in conformity to the articles, they admitted that superior powers might be intrusted to some ministers, provided it was understood that they were answerable for the exercise of these powers to the General Assembly, and were, in all other respects, subject to the presbyteries. The King insisted that bishops, by which term he meant those who received the superintendence alluded to

May 10. General Assembly again meets.

Measures adopted by it.

CHAP. VI.

1586.

by the Assembly, should in no case be amenable to presbyteries, but only to the supreme judicatory; and upon receiving a communication, that, if this was not granted nothing would be conceded by the King, the majority in a very cautious manner gave their assent. They presented to him several articles relating to the powers of General Assemblies, to which, with some exceptions in favour of bishops, he agreed; and they then proceeded, with the utmost zeal, to consider the state and order of presbyteries; recorded a list of those which were to be established; made some alterations upon the former scheme; and defined the place which these courts were to hold in the constitution of the church, with the duties which they were to perform. A temporary regulation was made, that bishops should be moderators of the presbyteries within the bounds of which they resided, St Andrews being excepted; but power was given to some ministers to summon bishops before them if they saw cause, and to examine into any grounds of accusation, reserving it, however, to the Assembly to pronounce a sentence. *

The proceedings of the Synod of Fife against the Archbishop of St Andrews were also maturely

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 344—346. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. III. p. 881—916, and printed History, p. 205—210. Spottiswoode, p. 347. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Pont, p. 12, and 15, 16, with appendix to that life in Vol. III. quarto of these manuscripts.

considered. It is evident that the Assembly did not approve the violent measures which that synod had adopted, and that the members were averse from entering minutely into all the branches of the controversy respecting the excommunication. They expressed a wish to absolve the primate, but they insisted that he should previously make certain concessions, and give an explanation of his sentiments. This, if he had consulted merely the dignity of his order, he would have steadily refused; but he felt much inconvenience from the situation in which by men of great popular influence he had been placed, and, with the approbation of the King, who, in this case, certainly lost sight of his reverence for episcopacy, the primate presented a most humiliating acknowledgement of his errors, promised to behave better in time coming, and in all things to submit himself to the General Assembly. Upon this, the Assembly, for his Majesty's satisfaction, for the good hope which they had of his concurrence in building the house of God, and for the continuance of peace in the church, held the process and sentence against the primate as undeduced and not pronounced, "restoring him, in so far as concerned these, to the estate in which he had been before the late proceedings of the Synod." Some of the zealous ministers were not satisfied; they mourned over this compliance with the King, as a melancholy proof of degeneracy and corruption; and, to preserve themselves free from the guilt of sacrificing, in the

CHAP. VI.

slightest manner, the bold pretensions of Presbytery, they entered a solemn protest. *

1586. From the whole transactions of this Assembl , it is evident that, although from their late sufferings the clergy were desirous, in as far as was consistent with their consciences, to concur with the King, and actually consented to the existence of a very limited episcopacy, the zeal for the establishment of Presbytery was not abated, and the order of bishops was regarded with decided aversion. Indeed, the regulations which were sanctioned clearly indicated, that the first favourable opportunity would be embraced of pressing upon the monarch, in its full extent, that ecclesiastical polity which Melvil, with so much ability and success, had rendered acceptable to the people of Scotland. This did not escape the observation of James and of his council, but the measures which they adopted were not calculated to prevent what they dreaded.

The court proceeds against Melvil.

After the dissolution of the Assembly, the sentence in favour of the archbishop was by sound of trumpet published, and, in the hope that his talents and engaging eloquence might be useful in giving a new direction to public opinion, he was appoint-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 352, 353. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. III. as last quoted, and printed History, p. 210, 211. Spottiswoode, p. 346, 347. Mackenzie's Life of Archbishop Adamson, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 370. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Pont, p. 16, 17, and Life of Melvil, p. 50. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 258.

ed by the council to deliver weekly two lectures on theology, in addition to the discourses which, on the Lord's day he was, in terms of the late agreement, to preach to his congregation. Under some frivolous pretence, but probably with the design of giving every advantage to the instructions of the archbishop, Melvil and his nephew were summoned before the King; and although James Melvil, from the impaired state of his health, was permitted to return to St Andrews, his uncle was unwisely commanded to go north of the Tay, that he might converse with Jesuits, who were supposed to abound in that district, and might convert them to the truth. He was not blinded by this insincere compliment to his knowledge and his zeal, and, upon a supplication from the university, he was in a few weeks permitted to resume his duties as principal of the college in which he presided, upon condition, however, that he did not disturb the peace of the archbishop, and that he conducted himself towards him with the reverence which was due to his exalted station in the church. Melvil did not change the tone of his addresses to the students who attended him. It is recorded "that they profited much by his instructions, and began to look more narrowly to the truth, both of discipline and of doctrine, whilst the bishop's fair shadows and shews vanished away as the mist before the sun." It seems unquestionable that, notwithstanding the ability which Adamson displayed, and this his

CHAP. VI.

1586.

August.

CHAP. VI.

1586.

most inveterate enemies did not deny to him, many who had formerly listened to him preferred his more popular rival, who perpetuated the prejudices with which, even after the absolution of the Assembly, the primate was very generally regarded. *

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. III. p. 916, and printed History, p. 212, 218. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 50, 51, and of Robert Bruce, p. 5. In this part of Wodrow's work mention is made of the archbishop's pleasant and ready utterance: and Row, as has been before mentioned, allows that Adamson was a learned man and a great preacher. Mackenzie's Life of Archbishop Adamson, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 372. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 260, and 263.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

League with England....Resolution to execute the Scotish Queen....James interferes in behalf of his Mother.... The Ministers refuse to pray for her....Duplicity of Elizabeth.....Execution of Mary.....Remarks on her Character....Elizabeth appeases James....General Assembly....Parliament....Important Acts....Alarm excited by the intrigues of Jesuits....Measures in consequence adopted....Decided conduct of James....Invincible Armada....It is dispersed....New commotions in Scotland....Vigilance of the Church....King's Marriage.... Exertions of the Clergy to preserve tranquillity during his absence in Denmark.....James expresses his gratitude... His speech in the General Assembly....Petitions presented to him by the Church....Conduct of the Ministers to the Archbishop of St Andrews....Death and Character of Erskine of Dun....Parliament deferred.... Murder of the Earl of Murray ...Perseverance of the Ministers...General Assembly...The Parliament meets... Legal Establishment of Presbytery....Remarks upon that Establishment.

CHAP. VII.

THE lords whom the King had now admitted into favour, and to whom he entrusted the administration of affairs, acted with the most patriotic moderation. Having recovered their estates and their honours, they laid aside all recollection of injury, and suggested the measures which appeared to them best calculated for restoring peace to the

1586. July 5. League with England.

CHAP. VII.

1586.

kingdom.* Naturally desirous to cement the alliance with England, they strengthened the King's resolution to form a league with Elizabeth, and Randolph having been sent to Scotland to renew negociations for this purpose, it was agreed that a treaty should be concluded. Commissioners from both sovereigns, vested with full powers, met at Berwick, and a number of articles, by which it was stipulated that a firm union should subsist between the two kingdoms, were subscribed.† The English Queen was much gratified by the cordiality with which James had acted, and she not only gave him a compensation for the estates which, in right of his grandmother, he had so long in vain attempted to recover, but she assured him that she would permit nothing to be done in prejudice of his title as the successor to her throne.‡

Resolution to execute the Scotish Queen.

But notwithstanding the fair prospect of amity which was now opened, an event soon occurred which irritated James, and which deserves to be recorded with execration and horror. It had long been the earnest wish of Elizabeth's council that the most severe measures should be adopted against the unhappy Queen of Scotland. Constantly apprehending formidable convulsions from the unwearied and desperate machinations of the Catholics

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 172.

† Spottiswoode, p. 349, 350. Camden's Annals, p. 397—402. Rymer's Foedera, Vol. XV. p. 804—806. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 140, 141.

‡ Spottiswoode, p. 350.

in England, stimulated as they were by foreign emissaries, and convinced that, whilst Mary lived, they would make her deliverance the ostensible pretext for their combination, the most zealous of Elizabeth's ministers determined to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for urging their sovereign to a step which they well knew that she was not averse to take, but from which she was restrained by that terror of infamy which haunted her mind, and which she found herself unable to disregard or to despise. A conspiracy against her life, which was at this time, through the activity of Walsingham, brought to light, was made the ground upon which the decision of Mary's lamentable fate was to be rested. 1586.

In an English seminary at Rheims, the detestable maxim had been avowed and inculcated, that it was highly meritorious in the sight of God to cut off those princes who were enemies to the popish faith. An infatuated enthusiast, of the name of Savage, was deeply impressed by the discourses in which this tenet was illustrated, and he was resolved to earn the crown of martyrdom by murdering Elizabeth, whom the adherents of Rome, on account of the bull issued against her by the Pope, regarded with the utmost abhorrence. Gifford, a priest, who confirmed Savage in his resolution, was at the same time negociating with the view of effecting an invasion of England, of dethroning the Queen, and raising Mary to the throne. The two schemes

CHAP. VII.

1586.

were now conjoined, and Ballard, one of the conspirators, was sent into England to procure the co-operation of all whose efforts tended to secure success. He was instructed to introduce himself to Babington, a young man of high descent, of great wealth, and of respectable talents, who, being zealous for the religion of Rome, had, while in France, been noticed by some of the exiled adherents of the Scotish Queen. Upon his return to his own country, he had been employed in carrying on a correspondence between them and their wretched sovereign, but upon her being more rigorously confined, he had desisted from what he saw to be full of danger. When Ballard proposed to him the plan of invasion, he declared that he considered it as impracticable whilst the vigilant Elizabeth survived; but, upon being informed of the vow of Savage, and that he was arrived in the kingdom, he threw off all reserve, and suggested that several others should be associated with the assassin. He renewed his correspondence with Mary, giving her a general view of what was intended, and he received an answer in her name, cautiously written, but pointing out the best method of accomplishing her escape. He now associated himself with some in whom he confided, and amongst this number was a spy of Walsingham, from whom that able minister, who knew even of Ballard's arrival, regularly received accounts of the progress which the conspirators had made. Elated with the prospect of success, and

fully satisfied that their deliberations had not been detected, they acted with a degree of childish levity, sufficiently evincing their incapacity to subvert a government administered by statesmen of the most enlarged talents and the most extensive experience. All the preliminary steps having been adjusted, Babington was anxious that the assistance expected from abroad should not be withheld. To accelerate its arrival, it was agreed that Ballard should go to the continent, and, to prevent suspicion, Babington, who had been introduced to Walsingham, applied to him for a passport. The secretary, affecting to be deceived, promised to obtain it, and to bestow on him a munificent reward if he should promote the service of the Queen. In the meantime Gifford had been sent from France to encourage Savage, to convey letters to Mary, and to conduct the correspondence between that princess and the persons by whom he was employed. This man, from remorse, or fear, or treachery, disclosed to Walsingham all which had been done, but by the advice of this minister, he acted as if he had continued faithful to his friends, and he communicated what passed between Mary and those implicated in the conspiracy. When the letters thus procured were submitted to Elizabeth, to whom alone Walsingham had hitherto imparted his suspicions and his attempts to discover the truth, she was alarmed, and insisted that he would immediately defeat the design. Ballard was seized just as

CHAP. VII.

1586. he was about to commence his journey, and Babington, who had been filled with apprehension at the fate of his associate, was, after having been for some time strictly watched, apprehended, with the whole of the conspirators. In their examination they disclosed the particulars of their ill-concerted

Sept. 20. scheme, they confessed their guilt, and were soon publicly executed.*

They were no sooner apprehended, than the most rigorous measures were taken against Mary. Messengers were dispatched to inform her of what had happened,—her secretaries were seized,—her apartments were searched,—her cabinet, having been sent to London, was broken open, and all the letters and ciphers which were found in it were kept to afford additional evidence against her. Pawlet was instructed to deprive her of the money which she possessed, lest she should bribe any one to befriend her; and she was brought to the castle of Fotheringay, where she was closely imprisoned.†

* Camden has given a very full narration of all the circumstances connected with Babington's conspiracy, taken, as he says, from the voluntary confessions of those who had been engaged in it, and there is every appearance of candour in his account. Annals, p. 402—410. Rapin, with some insinuations against the fairness of Camden, which, in the present instance, seem totally unfounded, for want of other materials, takes his account from him, as has also been done by the continuator of Maitland's History of Scotland. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 416, 417. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 332, and Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 112—116. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. III. p. 918—926.

† Camden's Annals, p. 411.

Elizabeth, however, still professed that she was desirous to proceed no farther against her than putting her under the strictest confinement; but, yielding to the solicitations of her counsellors, and of her Protestant subjects, who were filled with horror at her danger, she at length consented to grant a commission to try Mary upon a charge of treason.* Much deliberation took place respecting the statute upon which the proceedings were to be founded. This was, indeed, a point which could scarcely fail to perplex the advisers of Elizabeth. Mary was not her subject; she was an independent princess; she had sought to escape from the calamities which pressed upon her in her own kingdom, by taking refuge in the territories of a sovereign who had offered to her protection; and she continued in England because she was forcibly prevented from leaving it. Even, then, although she had taken a part in the conspiracy of Babington, and had approved of it, of which there is no sufficient evidence, Elizabeth was not entitled to complain; for the Queen of Scotland would only have been acting from that love of personal freedom, which is inseparable from our nature;—would only have been seeking to deliver herself from the most iniquitous and execrable persecution. To condemn her to death was murder, not justified by the wretched pretence of consulting the safety of the English

1586.

* Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 362.

CHAP. VII.

1586. Queen; for had Mary been permitted to go to France, which she was desirous to do, all ground of apprehension would have been removed even from the most timid of Elizabeth's loyal subjects. It was, however, her secret determination that her unhappy sister's cruel captivity should terminate in her execution,—all scruples were silenced,—and the commissioners were ordered, with* the most

11th Oct. abominable disregard to the feelings of the prisoner, and to the honour which should have guided their own sovereign, to proceed against Mary, not as Queen of Scotland and Dowager Queen of France, but as the daughter of James V. late King of Scotland, commonly called Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France.* Of the proceedings at Fotheringay Castle it is unnecessary to give a detail. Mary acted with a dignity becoming her rank, and displayed the admirable talents of which she was possessed, conducting her defence with the most moving eloquence; but her fate was decided, and she was pronounced guilty. Sentence of death was pronounced against her; that sentence the English parliament ratified; and earnest supplications were addressed to Elizabeth that she would permit it to be carried into execution.†

* Strype's Annals, p. 364. Camden's Annals, p. 413—416. Spottiswoode, p. 351. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 125.

† A large collection of the most interesting and authentic documents relating to the trial and condemnation of Mary is to be found in Vol. II. of Crawford's MS. State Papers, copied from the Cotton Library. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 1—4.

1586. James interferes in behalf of his mother.

When the King of Scotland received intelligence of the proceedings against his mother, he felt as a son, and he instantly resolved to make to Elizabeth the most powerful remonstrances. He sent Keith, a gentleman of his chamber, to strengthen the representations of his ambassador, by a letter to the English Queen, in which he said, that however strange it appeared to him that the nobility and counsellors of England should presume to pass sentence on a Queen of Scotland, yet he would think it much more strange if Elizabeth should stain her hands with the blood of his mother, who was of the same royal condition with herself, and of the same sex; that he could not believe that she had formed such a resolution; but that if she had, he desired her to consider how much it touched him in honour, who was both a King and a son, to suffer his parent to be put to an infamous death. As Elizabeth gave to this letter no answer, he enjoined Keith to represent the injustice of the proceedings against Mary; to declare that both nature and honour would call upon him to avenge the cause of his mother; and to endeavour to obtain a delay in the execution of the sentence, till he could send an ambassador with proposals, which he trusted would be satisfactory. When Keith solicited this delay, the Queen lost all command of temper; was with difficulty prevented from refusing again to hear him; but at length replied, that if his master sent to her within a few days, she would

CHAP. VII.

1586. listen to what he had to state. James, unwilling to exasperate her, intimated that he had no design in his message to threaten her government; and, in the mean time, he called an assembly of the estates, to submit to them the melancholy situation of the Scotish Queen. Moved with just indignation at the infamous conduct of Elizabeth, they promised

20th Dec. every support to their sovereign; and the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil were dispatched to make a last effort to save Mary. With some difficulty they obtained an audience; when Elizabeth,

1587. 1st Jan. with much warmth, said, that she was immeasurably sorry that she could not save Mary's life, and secure her own: and perceiving that, in the temper in which she then was, nothing could be gained, they deferred making any request till they were next

16th Jan. called to enter upon the subject. The Master of Gray then asked whether the person for whom they were to intercede was alive; to which Elizabeth hastily replied,—I think she is, but I will not answer for a single hour. All their efforts to make on her any impression were fruitless; and James, upon being informed of this, wrote to Gray to keep no terms, but plainly to announce, that, if his mother's life was not spared, he would break with England. Before, however, this letter arrived, Gray had been gained, and had even promised to use his influence in reconciling his master to what was to take place. To prepare for this, the King was reminded that it was wise not to lose

such a friend as Elizabeth; and most unfounded insinuations were communicated to him, that his mother had conveyed to the King of Spain her right to the British thrones. From all which he learnt, James was persuaded that the murder of his mother could not be averted; and, in the anguish which he felt, he ordered the ministers to pray for her, that she might be illuminated by divine truth, and saved from the danger with which she was threatened. CHAP. VII. 1587.

This order it might be imagined would have been cheerfully obeyed by men professing to be the disciples of a master who died for sinners, and the teachers of a religion expressing the utmost tenderness for the sufferings of mankind; but with the honourable exception of Lindsay at Leith, and the King's own ministers, all of them refused. The King was shocked by this conduct, so inconsistent with humanity and with Christianity, and he appointed a particular day for offering solemn petitions to God in behalf of the Queen, commanding the Archbishop of St Andrews to officiate in one of the churches of Edinburgh. With an indecency of contempt, which merits the severest censure, the preachers united to defeat the intention of their sovereign, and prevailed upon Cowper, one of their number, to ascend the pulpit before the arrival of the primate. When the King entered the church, he expressed his displeasure, but said, that if Cowper would perform the duty enjoined, he might pro- The ministers refuse to pray for Mary. 3d Feb.

CHAP. VII.

1587.

ceed. With an awful profanation of religion, which fills the truly pious mind with horror, this man, who had already determined how he was to act, and had occupied the place which he filled for the purpose of gratifying his brethren, answered, that he would speak as the spirit of God directed him; and, when he was forced from the pulpit, that he might inflame the passions of the people, he cried out,—This day shall be a witness against the King on the great day of the Lord. Some tumult was naturally occasioned by this revolting scene; but, after the first agitation had subsided, the congregation yielded to the suggestions of compassion, and, deeply affected by the sermon of the archbishop, who most seasonably and eloquently discoursed upon the duty of praying for all men, they condemned the violence of their pastors.*

Duplicity of Elizabeth.

There can be no doubt that it was now absolutely determined to put Mary to death; yet Elizabeth

* For the particulars respecting the interference of James in behalf of his mother, see Spottiswoode, p. 351—354. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 173. Camden's Annals, p. 451; and for the conduct of the ministers consult Spottiswoode, p. 354. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 7, 8, Printed History, p. 214, and Row's MS. p. 35, 36. Calderwood seems to have had some doubts upon this subject, for, after mentioning the refusal of the ministers to pray for the Queen, he adds, "they refused, not simply to pray for her, but to pray for the preservation of her life, as if she had been innocent, which had imported a condemnature of the Queen of England;" but this wretched apology does not lessen the impropriety which he should not have attempted to extenuate.

acted with her accustomed hypocrisy, although in some unguarded moments she betrayed to her confidential attendants the real state of her feelings, and the real wish of her heart. She affected to be filled with grief for the Queen of Scotland, and appeared to shrink with detestation from every proposal of hastening the execution. Her purpose, however never varied. She sent for Davidson, the secretary, requiring him to bring the warrant for executing the sentence; she deliberately signed it; she ordered him to carry it to the chancellor, shewing it as he passed to Walsingham, whom she remarked that it would kill outright, she believed, and she then pointed out the manner in which she wished the execution to take place. Davidson, satisfied that she was in earnest, obeyed her commands. Next morning, however, she blamed his haste in going to the chancellor, and when he vindicated himself, by pleading her express order, she said, that she thought a better mode might be adopted, insinuating that Mary should be privately murdered. Davidson heard the proposal with detestation, and having represented to her that the honourable way was the best, she closed the conversation. Soon after she again sent for him, and with a smile told him, that she had been troubled with a dream that the Queen of Scots was executed, and that she was so moved, that if she had had a sword she would have run him through. Suspecting that, notwithstanding

CHAP. VII. 1587.

CHAP. VII. 1587.

her manner, she was becoming averse to Mary's being put to death, he with great earnestness asked her, whether after going so far, she really meant to proceed. With an oath she protested that she would proceed, but she reverted to the infamous scheme which she had before suggested. He a second time remonstrated, and when Pawlet, to whom also it had been proposed, and to whom it was to be entrusted, wrote, that nothing could lead him to engage in it, she complained of their scruples, blaming those precise fellows, as she expressed herself, who in words would do every thing for her safety, but in fact nothing. At the next interview, she bitterly complained that Mary was permitted to live, and gave orders to write to Pawlet to have her executed. Davidson, with the advice of the council, had in fact dispatched the warrant, and given instructions for the execution. Yet, after Elizabeth heard that Mary had suffered on the scaffold, she burst forth in the loudest lamentations, declared that she had been betrayed, and that she had no knowledge of the mandate by which her unhappy relation had been sacrificed. The apology of Davidson, who was imprisoned for the part which he acted, unveils the truth, placing her dissimulation beyond a doubt, and proving that her anger at Burleigh, the chancellor, was assumed, to save her honour, and to turn away from her the

reproach, which, while moral feeling exists amongst men, all must believe that she merited. * CHAP. VII.

Upon the sixth of February, intimation was given to Mary, by the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, that she was to die on the eighth. She heard the intelligence with the composure of one who had become familiar with misery, and who looked for happiness in another world. On the appointed day she prepared herself for the solemn event which awaited her, and, without delaying a moment, came to the hall in which she was to be executed. On her way to it she was addressed by Melvin, her faithful steward, who, in anguish, lamented her fate. With the utmost tenderness and condescension, she endeavoured to comfort him. She asked him to testify that she died true to her religion, and true to Scotland and France,—begging him to assure her son that she had never done any thing prejudicial to his state and kingdom—and having embraced him, she bid him farewell, imploring his prayers. The commission for the execu- 1587. Execution of the Queen of Scots. Feb. 8. Feb. 8.

* Apology of Davidson, as printed by Mackenzie in his Life of Mary, Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 334—339; it is also copied by Crawford from the Cotton Library into Vol. II. of his MS. Collections. It is a most interesting document. Letter from Pawlet to Walsingham, dated 2d February 1587, in Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 341. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 370, and appendix to that volume, No. 9. Camden's Annals, p. 440—446, where there is a full account of the proceedings against Davidson, and of his defence. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 172. Sir James was deceived, and has given an account much too favourable for Elizabeth, as does also Spottiswoode, p. 357.

CHAP. VII. 1587.

tion was read to her on the scaffold; she listened to it with apparent unconcern; after which the Dean of Peterborough began a long discourse to shew the danger of her adhering to the Popish faith. She frequently interrupted him, saying, that she would die in the religion in which she had lived, and declined joining with him in prayer. Whilst he was engaged in devotion, she prayed by herself; and holding up the crucifix which she had in her hand, she solemnly affirmed that she hoped to be saved through the passion of Christ, at the foot of whose crucifix she would shed her blood. After her attendants had undressed her, she bade them farewell; and when the scene overpowered their feelings, she mildly reproved them, adding, that she was now to rest from all her sorrows. With undaunted resolution she laid her head upon the block, and having uttered,—O God, into thy hands I commit my spirit! it was in two strokes separated from her body. The Dean exclaimed, So perish all the enemies of Elizabeth! Kent repeated the words; but a deep silence, interrupted only by a groan of horror, was preserved by the rest who witnessed the dismal spectacle. She was buried in the church of Peterborough; but many years after, her remains were, by her son, deposited in Westminster Abbey, amongst the ashes of the kings from whom she was descended. *

* Strype in his Annals, Vol. III. p. 383—398, has inserted, from a MS. account written by Beal, many interesting particulars, which

CHAP. VII.

1587. Remarks on her character.

Thus perished, in the forty-sixth year of her age, and in the nineteenth of her imprisonment, the accomplished, but unfortunate, Mary of Scotland. Possessed of fascinating beauty, and the most elegant manners,—blessed with talents, which, upon many occasions, she most strikingly displayed, and endowed with the fortitude of a vigorous mind,—her life was, notwithstanding, marked by calamity, and her concluding years were spent in the gloominess of the most unprincipled captivity. The fate of few sovereigns has so strongly affected the feelings, or so much divided the opinions of the ages succeeding her reign. It is impossible to dwell upon the singular combination of misfortunes which darkened the brightest prospects of happiness, upon the dignity with which she bore her sufferings, and upon the tranquillity and resignation with which she submitted to the iniquitous sentence which had been pronounced against her, without the strongest emotions. The influence of this deep commiseration may perhaps account for the striking diversity with which her character has been delineated by writers whose integrity cannot be doubted, and whose genius and intelligence even the zeal of party cannot dispute. They who sympathized with her sorrows shrunk from the idea, that, beautiful and

should be compared with Camden, p. 455—458. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 311—352. Spottiswoode, p. 355—357. Jebb's Collection of Writers with respect to Mary, Vol. II. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol IV. p. 9—11

CHAP. VII.

interesting as she was, she could have been capable of the blackest enormities; while they, who, though not callous to pity, coolly analyzed her actions, and traced the motives from which they originated, have been conducted to the conclusion, that, in the vehemence of passion she sometimes departed from principle, and participated in crimes which must be unequivocally condemned. In terminating the history of this miserable woman, it surely cannot be wrong to hope that her penitence was sincere,—that her prayers were in mercy heard,—and that she is now partaking of the felicity which the splendour of a crown could not in this world bestow.

1587.

Elizabeth appeases James.

Elizabeth was too penetrating a discerner of human nature not to conceive the feelings with which James would learn that his mother had been executed. She accordingly instantly exerted herself to soothe him; and, to prevent him from having recourse to measures, which, from the temper of many of her subjects at this time, might have endangered the peace of her kingdom, or shaken the stability of her throne. She assumed to him the language of astonishment and of rage at what she affected to deplore, and it is apparent that she had no doubt of yet gaining the confidence of a prince whom she had so deeply injured. In her own hand-writing she thus, upon this trying occasion, wrote to James:

February.

"Would to God, my dear brother, you knew, though not felt, the extreme sorrow that overwhelms my mind for that miserable accident, which,

contrary to my intention, hath happened. I have therefore sent my kinsman, whom you have formerly deigned to favour, to instruct you truly in that which my pen trembleth to write. I beseech you, that, as God and many others can witness my innocence, so you will likewise believe, that, if I had commanded it, I should not have denied it. I am not so base-minded as to fear to do that which is just, or, when done, to deny it; for, as it is not princely with feigned words to conceal the meaning of the heart, so will I never dissemble my actions. This, assure yourself of from me, that, as I knew it was deserved, so had I meant it, I would never have laid it on another's shoulders; but to impute that to myself which I never did so much as think of, I will not. You will please, then, to hear the circumstances from the bearer; and believe me, that you have not a more loving kinswoman or dearer friend, or one that will watch with more care to preserve you and your state; and if any endeavour to persuade you of the contrary, regard them as less devoted to you than to others. Thus in haste I have troubled you, beseeching God to send you a long and happy reign." *

James would neither receive the letter, nor admit Cary the ambassador into his presence, but, having

* Spottiswoode, p. 357, 358, and, with some alteration of expression, this letter is to be found in the Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1207, from which work I have copied it.

CHAP. VIII.

1587.

allowed him to state the purpose of his embassy to the council, he delivered a memorial similar to what had been written by the Queen. The King, however, remained resolute. He convened the estates, complained to them of the cruel fate of his mother, and got the unanimous and cordial assurance of all who were present that they would spend their estates and hazard their lives to revenge that unlawful murder. * Elizabeth, not discouraged, persevered in her attempts to conciliate the Scotish King. She instructed her ministers to use every effort to shew him the folly of war. They impressed this upon the counsellors who enjoyed his confidence, and the hostilities which had been intended were happily averted. Nothing contributed to this more than a letter of Walsingham to Maitland, who had been created Lord Thirlstane, and who was then in high favour with his Sovereign. In this letter the judicious and experienced secretary pointed out so many prudential reasons against proceeding to extremities, and so many advantages which would result from not breaking with Elizabeth, that James was in a great degree convinced; and his resolution was at length fixed by a calm survey of his own situation,—of the limited extent of his finances, and of the divisions which existed in his kingdom from the private quarrels of the nobles,—and by the formidable manner in which the clergy were pro-

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 173.

executing the schemes which they had long laboured to accomplish.* CHAP. VII.

All thoughts of war being laid aside, the King's 1587.

* Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 376—388. This writer, in Vol. III. p. 382, 388, has preserved a paper written by James himself, and endorsed, "Reasons for the Scotish King not revenging his mother's murder." Spottiswoode, p. 359, 360. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 175. The following curious anecdote, relating to the feelings of the King after his mother's death, has been preserved by Wodrow, in his MSS. Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 51, 52. It must, in justification of the monarch, however, be previously observed, that, from his never having been with Mary, he could not have that warmth of affection, or that violence of grief, which, under other circumstances, would have exhited in his breast. "I have an account handed down from old ministers who lived in that time, of a passage that happened 'twixt the King and Mr Melvil, which I set down for the sake of the verses. The circumstances are not very material. A little after the King had got on his mournings for his mother, one day when Mr Melvil came in to wait upon his Majesty, he was laughing heartily, frisking and dancing about the room with no little levity, as was not unusual with him while in his younger years. Mr Melvil observed him a little, and the following lines struck him in the head extempore, from his bright poetical fancy, and, smiling, he turned to a nobleman and repeated them. The nobleman was mightily pleased, and burst out in laughter. The King soon came up and asked the reason. The nobleman waved it, saying it was a merry tale of Mr Andrew. The King would know it. Mr Melvil said it might be offensive to his Majesty. The King said he would not be offended, and so Mr Andrew repeated them. Be these circumstances as they will, the lines contained much wit and salt, and were,

Quid sibi vult, tantus lugubri sub veste cachinnus,
Scilicet hic matrem defiet, ut illa patrem.

What means such mirth under a garb so sad?
He mourns his mother as she did his father."

See also Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 11, 12.

CHAP. VII. 1587.

attention was occupied by some intrigues at court, the result of which was the banishment of the Master of Gray, who had previously been held in high estimation, and the office of chancellor, the duties of which, after the flight of Arran, had been performed by Gray, being conferred on Thirlstane, the fortunate brother of the accomplished, but unhappy Maitland of Lethington. *

General Assembly. 2d June.

The General Assembly having, by order of the King, met in Edinburgh, his Majesty, desirous to afford the ministers an opportunity of disavowing the offence of Cowper, who has been already mentioned, and of Gibson, who had applied to their Sovereign the most insulting language, required, amongst other articles, that these men should acknowledge that they had acted improperly, and that Montgomery, of whom so much has been said, should be received into the communion of the church. The King had now completed his twenty-first year, and a parliament having been summoned to declare his majority, the church was anxious, that, upon this important occasion, all the laws in favour of the Protestant religion should be again ratified. The ministers accordingly declared, that if there was any prospect of their obtaining their requests, they would labour in what concerned their two brethren, to gratify the King; and would,

* Spottiswoode, p. 362—364. Mackenzie's Life of Lord Thirlstane, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 411, 412. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 145, 146.

in the case of Montgomery, dispense with the usual ceremonies observed in admitting excommunicated persons, if his highness would proceed with lenity against those of the ministry with whom he was offended. Montgomery had been reduced to the utmost poverty, and, in despair of enjoying his high appointment, had resigned it to another person, not a clergyman, who, although his admission was censured by the General Assembly, continued to receive the temporalities of the benefice, till a decided change took place in the constitution, or rather the practice of the church. Montgomery soon after this joined the Presbyterian party, and having become the minister of a parish, he spent the rest of his life in obscurity. * 1587.

Commissioners were appointed to be present at the meeting of parliament, and to watch over the interests of the church; amongst whom was Erskine of Dun, who, although now arrived at extreme old age, regularly attended the Assemblies, and took an active part in ecclesiastical arrangements. †

No new act striking directly against bishops was passed by this Assembly; but advantage was taken of a remarkable occurrence, to express to the King that the sentiments which had been en-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 374, 375. Spottiswoode, p. 364. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 14—28, and printed History, p. 215.

† Wodrow's MS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 43.

CHAP. VII.

1587. tertained with respect to that order had undergone no change. Robert Pont, of whose zeal several instances have been recorded, and who had been deprived of his office as a Lord of Session, had been presented by James to the bishopric of Caithness, upon the death of the Earl of March. Pont saw the necessity of explaining the motives by which he had been led to accept an office against which he had vehemently declaimed. He stated to the Assembly, which was to deliberate upon his appointment, that, to recompense him for some severe losses which he had sustained, the presentation to the vacant see had, without any solicitation on his part, been given to him; and that he was desirous to be instructed whether he might enjoy the living with a good conscience, and without slander, it being his fixed determination to officiate at a particular church, and to submit to all the regulations of the Assembly with regard to bishops. It was determined that he might accept the emoluments connected with the benefice, but, to prevent

June 28. mistake, a letter was addressed to the King, in which, after bearing testimony to the merits of Pont, and declaring that they considered him already as a bishop, according to the doctrine of St Paul, qualified to be the pastor of the church of Dornoch, and to undertake the visitation of any province assigned to him, the ministers added, "but as to that corrupt estate or office of those who have been deemed bishops heretofore, we find

it not agreeable to the word of God, and it hath been damned in divers others of our Assemblies; neither is the said Mr Robert willing to accept of it in that manner. This," they conclude, "we thought good to signify to your majesty for answer to your highness's letter, and have ordained our brethren who are to be appointed commissioners, to wait upon the next parliament, to confer with your highness and council at more length, if it be necessary, upon this subject." * CHAP. VII. 1587.

The parliament was held with great splendour, and in honour of his Majesty was numerously attended. The commissioners for the church came to the first meeting, and petitioned that the prelates who were present to represent the spiritual state should be removed, as they had no authority from the church, and many of them had no function or office in it. Bruce Abbot of Kinloss, replied to the petition in a long discourse to the King, shewing the right of the prelates to represent the church; and soliciting him to punish the presumptuous arrogance of attempting to divest them of the privilege which, by the constitution, they enjoyed. Pont, although he had so lately received a bishoprick, answered with much warmth the speech of the abbot; and the King, putting an end to the dispute, ordered the commissioners to state their Parliament, July 29. July

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 378. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. as last quoted, and printed History, p. 215, 216. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in life of Robert Pont, p. 17—18.

CHAP. VII. 1587.

demands to the Lords of the Articles. * The presbyterians did not succeed in excluding the prelates from parliament, but they procured the ratification of all which had been previously enacted in favour of the Protestant religion, and of the church established in the kingdom; they were, by a strict law, protected in the discharge of their sacred duties; and two acts were passed of vast importance to the nation, and which contributed in no slight degree to the complete triumph which, in a few years, they obtained. †

Important acts.

Although, as has been frequently stated, the property of the ancient establishment had, at the Reformation, been much diminished by the rapacity of many who promoted that revolution, still the greater part of the property was regarded as properly ecclesiastical; and the new teachers long flattered themselves, that it would soon be applied to the purposes for which they wished it to be appropriated. The nobles and the favourites of the monarch, as an effectual security against this, formed the scheme of transferring whatever, during the prevalence of popery, had been possessed by the clergy, to the crown, trusting that they would thus not only retain what they had already appropriated, but might, through the facility of the Monarch,

* Spottiswoode, p. 365. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Robert Pont, p. 19.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, as last quoted.

obtain additional and valuable grants. The scheme was submitted to this parliament; and by a long act, annexing to the crown the temporalities of benefices, this great revolution in the tenure by which extensive domains were held, was completed. The ostensible pretexts for this law undermining the foundation upon which property rested, were the necessity of increasing the royal revenue, and the importance of not harassing the community by severe taxation; but the secret design of those with whom it originated was soon discovered, and the law itself was, by the King, long deeply lamented. His interest was to resist the measure, in as far as it tended to increase the affluence and power of the nobles, or to have retained for himself and his successors the ample addition which was thus made to his revenue; but the importunities of needy and flattering courtiers prevailed upon him to enrich them; and he found that he had left himself without the means of conferring upon the prelates and the dignitaries of the church, the provision which their rank, and the accomplishment of his design in supporting them, absolutely required. Hence the difficulties of introducing episcopacy were greatly increased; the sees were no longer considered as worthy the solicitude of men respectable for talents or for virtue; and they who accepted them, depending upon the sovereign for almost the necessaries of existence, were betrayed into that slavish submission to his will, which in Scotland,

CHAP. VI. 1580.

CHAP. VII. 1587.

where, from the Reformation, ideas of independence and of right had been widely disseminated, was viewed with contempt or with disgust. Had the ministers acted upon the maxims of Knox, they would have steadily resisted this innovation, and employed against it that nervous eloquence by which he could so admirably defend what he believed to be just; but, in their eagerness to accomplish their ecclesiastical schemes, they allowed themselves to he deluded by insinuations that the passing of the act was the surest way to extirpate Prelacy, and by vague promises which were never fulfilled, that the whole tithes would be conveyed to them, to be distributed as they thought most conducive to the interests of religion. *

Another act, in every point of view most interesting, still more directly contributed to render the will of the people the law of the kingdom. James I., one of the most enlightened of the Scotish monarchs, had procured the adoption of a statute, exempting the smaller barons from attendance upon the estates, which, to most of them, was a heavy burden, upon condition of sending representatives; and it was the intention of that wise prince to divide parliament into two houses. His

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 257—265. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 269. Calderwood's MS. Vol. IV. p. 33. Spottiswoode, p. 365. The detail in the Primate's MS. is much fuller than in the printed history, and is given in Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Pont, p. 19, 20. Basilicon doron, lib. ii. p. 43. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1210, 1211.

scheme, however, proved abortive. The lesser barons considered that they had gained their object when they were not summoned to parliament, and they neglected to choose from their number any to watch over their rights. The consequence was, that the greater barons acquired a most formidable influence in the legislature, which the monarchs often were unable to control, and which would have uniformly set at defiance the resolutions of the crown, had not these been supported by the ecclesiastical estate, which naturally inclined to favour the King. The Reformation weakened this salutary check upon the nobility. Numbers of the abbots who had before, in some degree, depended upon the sovereign, became temporal lords, and acquired the sentiments and the prejudices of their new rank, whilst the circumscribed revenues of the bishops, combined with the decided aversion to their order, unequivocally manifested by the community, rendered their interference comparatively of little weight. To provide against this evil, James, who had studied the constitution, reverted to the political measure of his great ancestor, and proposed that commissioners appointed by the smaller barons and freeholders should have voice in parliament. The nobility saw the tendency of this measure, and resolutely opposed it; but as it was in the power of the King, notwithstanding the exemption, to summon any of his vassals to attend the meetings of the estates, and as the proposal

CHAP. VII. 1587.

was highly popular, the law founded upon it was passed. * From this period, commissioners of shires were regularly returned to parliament; and as their situation and habits led them to mingle much with the people, and gave them an interest in promoting what was acceptable to the community, they were instrumental in restraining the prerogative of the King, and the influence of the nobility, by rendering the Assembly of the nation the zealous guardian of the rights of the people. The effect of their introduction upon the state of religion will be often visible in the progress of this history; and although that effect was not immediately apparent, the short account which has been given of the origin of a class of men through whom it was produced, will throw light upon the great events, which, as connected with the church, have yet to be recorded. †

Alarm excited by the intrigues of Jesuits.

But the situation of Scotland, and the danger with which England was threatened, now attracted the attention of all sincere patriots, and produced feelings and sentiments which led, with the full consent of the Sovereign, to the legal and complete establishment of presbytery. The Presbyterians had never ceased in their Assemblies to enforce what they had early avowed, that, in the adoption of their views of ecclesiastical polity, would be found the

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 290, 291.

† Spottiswoode, p. 365. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Pont, p. 19. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1211, with a note subjoined from Hume's Constitution of Parliament.

best security against the re-establishment of Popery. This opinion, which at first might have been conceived to arise from partiality to a system, various circumstances now induced the nation to consider as too well founded. Philip, King of Spain, irritated at the disappointment of his views with respect to England, and detesting Elizabeth, resolved to attempt wresting from her the sceptre, and of course dooming Britain to the horrors of political and religious oppression. The murder of the Queen of Scots, which had exasperated the English Catholics, probably determined his choice as to the time of sending forth his formidable armament; but thoroughly versant in those artifices which spread disaffection, and corrupt loyalty, he employed a number of Jesuits and Popish priests to seduce those whom they found willing to listen to them, and to ascertain whether he could calculate upon intestine commotion. To Scotland he anxiously looked. It was of much importance that this kingdom should either assist him with its forces, or not strengthen the opposition which he anticipated from Elizabeth; and the indignation of James at his mother's fate, gave him some ground to hope that this Prince would not be averse from facilitating the ruin of a Sovereign by whom he had been so grievously injured. The vast influx of Jesuits, the most artful and enlightened emissaries of Rome, had, even at the late meeting of parliament, struck and alarmed all who were attached to their country; and an

CHAP. VII. 1587.

CHAP. VII.

act was passed for the trial and punishment of the adversaries of true religion,—an appellation which was given to Jesuits and Popish priests. * The law, however, was not sufficient to prevent the evil. Towards the end of the year, great numbers of the agents of Philip came into the kingdom, exerted themselves with unwearied zeal in making an impression upon the people, and succeeded in forming a party, at the head of which was the Earl of Huntly, devoted to the King of Spain. James, who saw it to be his interest, no less than his duty to support the Protestant religion, and not to join with its gloomy and bigotted enemy, issued a proclamation for apprehending the priests; but, deluded by their promise that they would instantly leave the kingdom, he granted them a protection till the end of January. †

1587.

1588.

Measures in consequence adopted. 6th Feb.

The ministers, and all who, from conviction, and from melancholy recollection of the persecutions by the Popish clergy, cherished the most ardent zeal for the reformed faith, and identified with its stability the most valuable interests of their country, saw the magnitude of the danger which hung over them, and, without any express permission from the King, summoned an extraordinary Assembly to de-

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 257, 258. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 38, and printed History, p. 219. Spottiswoode, p. 365. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Pont, p. 19.

† Spottiswoode, p. 366. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 175. Calderwood, p. 219.

vise the remedies which it was necessary to apply. The noblemen and barons, the commissioners of boroughs, and the ministers, assembled apart to deliberate upon what so nearly concerned their civil and religious privileges; and when their respective reports were presented, the Assembly unanimously adopted the advice of the noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, as to the mode of freeing the kingdom from idolatry. The advice shews the nature of the danger apprehended, and the strong sensation which had been excited by it amongst all ranks. It was recommended, 1. That the laws of the country be executed, without delay, against all Jesuits, seminary priests, idolaters, and maintainers of idolatry; and for that effect, that every man, as well of the gentlemen as of the ministry, here assembled, should, as he would answer to God, and as he tendered his glory and the good of his church, give up presently a catalogue, containing the names of such as he knows and esteems to be Jesuits, seminary priests, traffickers against religion, receivers, entertainers or maintainers of such persons, whose names shall be given to Sir Robert Melvil, who has promised, within forty-eight hours thereafter, to dispatch summonses to them all. 2. That, seeing the danger created by such persons is imminent, and the formal execution of the laws will require time, his Majesty and council be earnestly solicited to provide immediately some extraordinary remedy for the extraordinary danger, and

CHAP. VII. 1588.

execute the laws, without delay, upon the chief of the Jesuits, and their maintainers; acting as if treason was intended against his Majesty's own person and crown. 3. That, if the Assembly shall think it expedient, the said noblemen, barons, and gentlemen, presently assembled, go together to his Majesty, and regret the cause of the church and commonwealth to his Highness, and the danger wherein the liberty of this realm, their lives and consciences stand, by the craft of Jesuits and traffickers, who have seduced and stirred up enemies, both intestine and foreign, to bereave them of the same; and offer themselves, their lives, lands, and friends, to be employed at his Majesty's pleasure, for preventing their most dangerous attempt, and their bloody devices. *

In the ardour of their zeal, the whole Assembly resolved to carry this advice to the King. He approved of what was suggested; but, displeased with the tumultuous mode of approaching him, he ordered a conference between some of the council and of the members of the Assembly upon what was to be done. This conference took place; but the ministers, dreading that the King did not enter with sufficient zeal into the measures which had been devised, gave a new and strong representation of the danger to which his attention had been di-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 377, 378. Spottiswoode, p. 366, 367. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 40—61.

rected, and joined with this an enumeration of grievances; particularly insisting upon the necessity of making an alteration in the mode of distributing the thirds, that, ample means being provided for settling ministers in every part of the kingdom, the sophistry and the artifices of the adherents of Popery might be effectually counteracted and exposed.* The Assembly urged the ministers throughout the kingdom to insist upon all classes signing the Confession of Faith; and they concluded by appointing a fast, on account of the universal conspiracy of the enemies of truth,—the arrival of multitudes of Jesuits and Papists,—the defection of the multitude from the truth,—the conspiracy intended against it by great men, entertainers of Jesuits and Papists,—the coldness of all,—the ruin of the patrimony of the church,—and the prevalence of iniquity.† CHAP. VII. 1587

Decided conduct of James.

The King soon decidedly shewed, that he was determined to support the cause so warmly espoused by the great majority of his subjects. Lord Maxwell, who had been sent out of the country for his turbulent conduct, took up his residence in Spain. Perceiving the designs of that kingdom against England, and cordially approving them, he was in-

* Spottiswoode, p. 367. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. as last quoted; and printed History, p. 219, 220. This writer says, that the ministers insisted upon the repeal of the act of annexation; but in the Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 381, 382, there is no mention of this circumstance. See that Buik also in p. 378.

† Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 380.

CHAP. VII.

1588.

duced, by some Scotish Catholics, in violation of a promise which he had given, to revisit Scotland, that he might contribute to the success of the enterprise in which Philip was to engage. He arrived at Kirkcudbright, and was soon joined by many desperate men from the borders. Lord Herries, apprehensive that his own conduct might be blamed, immediately communicated information of what had happened; and Maxwell, having set at defiance a summons to appear before the council, and having put himself in a warlike posture, the King resolved to march against him. Upon his approach, Maxwell fled; and the houses which he had fortified, with one exception, surrendered. James stormed the castle, the governor of which continued refractory; the garrison, alarmed at the vigour of his preparations, delivered to him the place; but he commanded the governor to be executed. The King, however, did not consider peace secure whilst Maxwell was at liberty; he dispatched Sir William Stuart in pursuit of him; he was taken prisoner, and brought to Edinburgh. *

April.

June 5. Invincible Armada.

In a few weeks after the King had thus prevented a rebellion, which might have proved most formidable, the English ambassador at his court received intelligence that the Invincible Armada, as it was termed by the Spaniards, was in the channel.

* Spottiswoode, p. 369. Calderwood, p. 225. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1213.

James, upon this being communicated to him, called an assembly of the estates, and with much energy pointed out to them the dangers which threatened the Protestant religion, and the evils which would come upon Scotland, should Philip be successful. Maitland, the chancellor, warmly supported the sentiments of the monarch, and, with admirable judgment, suggested the measures which the awful crisis required. The opinion of the King was in unison with that of the people. As Elizabeth had not asked assistance, the object was to defend the kingdom from invasion. Troops were ordered to be everywhere raised; some noblemen in every county were appointed to command them; the King and council remained at Edinburgh, to dictate in case of any unseen emergency, and four bands of soldiers were stationed in the metropolis for their protection. But James had no intention of confining himself to this defensive system. He wrote to the Queen of England offering her the whole of his forces, and his own exertions, to be employed in whatever way she thought most proper, telling her that he would act not as a stranger, but as her son, and her countryman. * Aug. 4.

CHAP. VII. 1588.

Elizabeth was highly gratified by this conduct, and she dispatched Sir Robert Sydney to express

* Spottiswoode, p. 369, 370. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 146. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 175. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 66. Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XVI. p 18. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1213, 1214.

CHAP. VII. 1588.

her thankfulness; to offer James on her part all assistance if his dominions should be attacked; and to confirm him in the policy which he had adopted. Sydney was an eloquent and a dexterous courtier. Discoursing upon the projected invasion, he stated to the King, that if England were conquered, Scotland would share the same fate. James with much readiness replied, that, in such a case, he looked for no other favour from the Spaniards, than that which Polyphemus had promised to Ulysses, not to devour him till all his companions had been destroyed. *

Invincible Armada dispersed. July.

The preparations of Philip having been at length completed, his mighty armament sailed for England. The conduct of Elizabeth in this season of difficulty and danger, reflects immortal honour upon her talents, her fortitude, and her character. Far from being dismayed by the difficulties which she had to encounter, or permitting the knowledge of her situation to enfeeble her resolution, or bewilder her understanding, she exhibited a heroism, a steadiness of judgment, and an apparent tranquillity, which animated her subjects, and determined them to meet every danger in the effort to preserve her throne. Fortunately Providence, which has so often blessed this island, interfered for her preservation. By a series of tempests, most unusual at the season when the hostile fleet appeared in the Chan-

* Camden's Annals, p. 495, 496.

nel, it was dispersed; and, harassed by the judicious attacks of Drake, the English admiral, all hopes of its success soon vanished. The historians of England have fondly dwelt upon this signal incident in its history; it is sufficient here to observe, that it was attended with the happiest consequences to Britain, quashing every rational expectation of substituting for the reformed religion, the bigotry and superstition which that religion had so recently banished.* Elizabeth offered solemn thanks to God for the deliverance which she had experienced, and in Scotland the most sincere joy was almost universally felt.† 1588.

New commotions in Scotland.

During the agitation which the approach of the Armada had occasioned in England, the utmost tranquillity prevailed in the dominions of James, but soon after it was dispersed, new cabals threatened the peace and independence of his kingdom. Elizabeth, whose sources of intelligence supplied her with the most accurate information, had discovered, that, unnatural as such an union was, several of the Scotish nobles had been favourable to Philip, and she warned the King to take every precaution that these men might not, in the event of an invasion, add internal tumult and civil war to the danger a-

* Stowe, Camden, Strype, and Rapin, may be consulted for full information respecting the Armada, and its dispersion. See also Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 75—78.

† Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 177. Calderwood, p. 227.

CHAP. VII.

1588. rising from a foreign enemy. It might have been expected, that the views of any party which had made common cause with the Spanish monarch, would have been completely changed, by an event which so plainly disabled him from seriously harassing Britain; but the extirpating zeal of Popery, strengthened by discontent at the domestic arrangements of their sovereign, led several of the nobility, after they had recovered from the despondency created by the defeat of the Armada, to renew negotiations with Spain, and to form the most daring and criminal designs. The Earl of Huntly, although he had received from James the most flattering and substantial marks of favour; although he had obtained in marriage the eldest sister of the young Duke of Lennox, and had procured a grant of the abbey of Dunfermline, had been long dissatisfied, and had early put himself at the head of the Popish party. He again took a leading part in promoting the objects which he had before failed in accomplishing; and being joined by the Earl of Crawford, Lord Maxwell, and a few others, he opened a correspondence with Philip, and pointed out the most effectual mode of perfecting the noble purposes—so to his everlasting disgrace he expressed himself—which that monarch contemplated. From various letters which passed at this time, it is too evident that there was a faction bent upon sacrificing the independence and the religion of Scotland; that they who composed it had the meanness

1589. Jan. 24.

to become the tools of a gloomy and cruel despot, and even to receive the bribe which he offered to stimulate their exertions.* CHAP. VII. 1589.

Huntly, to deceive the King, and more successfully to carry on the conspiracy, had signed the confession of faith, thus reconciling himself to the church. But, at the instigation of the foreign emissaries, who now dictated to him, and from anxiety to gratify his personal antipathy, he resolved to make an attempt to get possession of the King, to remove from him the chancellor and the treasurer, who had kept him steady in the wise policy which he had followed, and to use his name and authority for justifying the desperate and execrable schemes of the Popish faction. Trusting that, in removing these courtiers, they would be assisted by many who would not have united with him upon the footing of religion, and expecting that they would be joined by the Earl of Montrose, and by the restless and unprincipled Earl of Bothwell, the Popish lords resolved forcibly to enter the palace of Holyroodhouse, to remain constantly with the King, and even to kill the chancellor and the treasurer if they found them with the sovereign. Some intimation of a plot against the chancellor had been given to James, who, anxious to preserve him from danger, remained with him at his house

* Calderwood's History, p. 230—242. Spottiswoode, p. 370—373. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1215. Calderwood's MS. Vol. IV. p. 78.

CHAP. VII.

1589.

in Edinburgh, and thus disappointed the conspirators. But Huntly, with astonishing boldness, relying upon the affection of the King, which he had so shamefully abused, came into his presence, and found him conversing with Maitland. This unexpected intrusion excited the astonishment of the monarch, and led to an eager inquiry into the reason of his coming. The chancellor, for whose safety his friends were much alarmed, having, after he withdrew, pointed out the impropriety of what had happened, Huntly was next day committed to the castle; and Errol and Bothwell having refused to appear before the council, were denounced as rebels. James had it now in his power completely to extirpate a faction, which every friend of the country should have held in detestation; but, with that facility which ever marked his character, he was induced, by promises of future obedience, to set Huntly at liberty. This nobleman immediately went to his own estates; but in his progress to the north he met Crawford at Perth, with whom he concerted or projected new plans of rebellion, and seized the treasurer, Glammis, whom he accidentally found in the neighbourhood of the town.*

17th Feb. About this time, the letters which had been written by the Popish lords to the Spanish court were

* Spottiswoode, p. 373, 374. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 175. Mackenzie's Life of Maitland, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 415. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 146—147. Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 1216.

intercepted. Elizabeth, having been informed of their contents, remonstrated with James upon his remissness in punishing such treachery, and earnestly besought him to adopt the most vigorous measures for expelling from his kingdom all strangers, whom he had so much reason to suspect as engaged in the most criminal negociations. Alarmed with the discovery, and with the indecent vaunting of those who openly anticipated the triumph of Popery, he lost no time in following the admonitions of the English Queen. He issued a proclamation against all Jesuits, and those who encouraged them; but, instead of thus securing the peace of his kingdom, he found himself necessitated to resist the violence of active rebellion. The proclamation drove the Jesuits to despair. They represented to Huntly, and the other Popish lords, that, if some great effort was not now made, their cause must be for ever abandoned, and they prevailed upon these noblemen to take the desperate resolution of attempting by force to overawe their sovereign. They collected all the troops which they could command, and, having come to Aberdeen, they circulated a declaration in name of the King, in which they stated that he was held captive, and was forced to treat his nobility more rigorously than he wished, and called upon his subjects to assist those who were endeavouring to restore him to the freedom which he was eager to possess. When James received intelligence of this daring insult to himself,

1589.

April.

CHAP. VII. 1589.

by men who had experienced the utmost indulgence, he saw the necessity of immediately quelling their revolt. Having hastily assembled a small army, he went towards Aberdeen, and when he reached Cowie, a village ten or twelve miles distant from it, he was informed that Huntly and the other nobles were in full march against him, with three thousand men, a number far greater than that which supported the royal banner. With much spirit he addressed his followers; he inspired them with the determined purpose to die in his defence, while the rebels became intimidated, and most unaccountably dispersed. He returned to Edinburgh, where the treasurer, who had been liberated from his confinement, interceded for the Earls of Huntly and Crawford, and Maitland, the chancellor, solicited in favour of Bothwell. This conduct was in every respect unwise. Promises, as the King had justly said in his speech to the army, could not bind these lords, and there was no pretence which could with reason be urged as justifying their folly and their guilt. It is possible to conceive that men, intoxicated with the love of freedom, might rashly endeavour to impart to others its blessings; it is possible to conceive that the resentment of private injuries might so exasperate passion as to pervert the understanding, and impel to actions, which, in the calmness of reflection, would have been condemned; but Huntly and his associates, had they been successful, would

have again enslaved their country, and they had all repeatedly experienced the gentleness of the monarch whom they virtually sought to thrust from his throne. Under these circumstances it would have been mercy to the state to root out a faction so pestilent and depraved; and the infliction of the highest punishment denounced against treason would have excited that veneration, with which the just exercise of authority is naturally regarded. James, however, was inclined to be merciful; and although he insisted that Huntly, Crawford, and Bothwell, whom he regarded as the most criminal, should be accused; although in the accusation he stated, without any reserve, the treason of which they had been guilty; yet when they were convicted upon their own confession, he suspended by his warrant the execution of the sentence pronounced. He rested satisfied with confining them for a short time; after which he pardoned Crawford, and gave liberty to Huntly, the prime mover of the conspiracy, only keeping him under some apprehension, by refusing to declare whether he would not yet proceed against him.*

Vigilance of the Church.

During this period of alarm and insubordination, the church pressed upon the Sovereign the real nature

* Spottiswoode, p. 374—377. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 101, and 109—140; and printed History, p. 242—244. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I folio, under Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 54. This writer says, that the Papists acted so openly, that the King himself came to be not a little alarmed. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 147. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1216.

CHAP. VII.

1589. of the danger to which the kingdom was exposed, urging him to take the most active measures for securing his throne, with the religion and liberties of his people. Tracing the unwearied exertions of Popish emissaries, and deeply impressed with the evils which might result from their intrigues, the ministers considered themselves as called upon to disseminate alarm. A meeting of the best affected of the nobility and gentry was at their suggestion, and with permission of the King, held. This meeting they numerously attended, and Melvil, whose talents and experience were in the time of danger justly appreciated, was chosen to preside. They

January. petitioned the King and council, praying that his Majesty would enjoin those who were most faithful to him, to consult upon the best remedies which could be applied to the situation of the nation; to ascertain who were sincerely attached to the Protestant faith; and to proceed with severity against Jesuits, and all who, by countenancing them, were fostering the seeds of rebellion. The utmost attention was paid to these suggestions; in consequence of them, the vigilance of government was increased; and steps were taken admirably calculated to crush the hopes, and to counteract the efforts of the faction against which they were directed. *

King's marriage. But the interference of the clergy was still more

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 88—91. and printed History, p. 217, 218. Wodrow's MSS. as last quoted. MS. Life or Diary of James Melvil, p. 275—277.

effectual in preserving peace at the conclusion of this, and the commencement of the following year. CHAP. VII.

The King had formed the resolution of marrying a daughter of the King of Denmark. This resolution was opposed by Elizabeth, and, through her influence, by Maitland, the chancellor, and several of the Scotish council. James was much irritated by such interference; and when his council even ventured to vote against the marriage, he employed some agents to stir up the people, and to threaten violence to the chancellor if the match did not take place. Undignified and dangerous as this conduct was, it led the council to reverse its decision, and the Earl Marischal having been dispatched to Denmark, the marriage was celebrated by proxy, and intimation given that the Queen was immediately to sail for Scotland. She commenced her voyage, but having been driven back by a tempest, the King expressed a wish that Bothwell, as Admiral, should escort her. Much delay took place in the preparations for this purpose; and James, with the impatience of a youthful lover, declared that he would himself, in a single vessel, go to Denmark for his royal consort, at the same time insinuating, that, if he had been properly served, this would not have been necessary. Maitland, alarmed for his own influence, apologized for having given offence, and offered instantly to repair to the Danish court, that he might attend the princess to her kingdom. James, though highly gratified by the proposal, de-

1589.

Aug. 28.

CHAP. VII.

clined the offer; and, afraid of delay, or animated by the romantic ardour of chivalry which it has been alleged that the chancellor secretly encouraged, he formed the strange determination of embarking with this nobleman, whom, however, he afterwards vindicated from having any share in promoting the scheme. Nothing could more clearly indicate the thoughtlessness of the King. He knew that Scotland was torn by the most virulent factions; he had lately found it necessary to arm against some of the most powerful of the nobles; he had set these dangerous men at liberty, and could not be ignorant that there was much hazard of their taking advantage of his absence, to give the most unhappy direction to the sentiments and the conduct of all whom they could influence. Yet, regardless of consequences, he left his kingdom at a season most unfavourable for such a voyage, but arrived in safety near Upsal. *

1589.

Oct. 22.

In a short time after his arrival the marriage was solemnized; but, instead of adhering to his design of immediately returning, he was prevailed upon to spend the winter in Denmark; and he did not revisit his own dominions till the commencement of the following summer. Some dispute arose respecting the frivolous point, Whether the ceremony of

1590. May 1.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 176—181, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 377. Calderwood, Vol. IV. p. 166, and printed History, p. 244. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 118. Mackenzie's Lives, p. 415, 416.

anointing should be used at the coronation of the Queen? and it having been determined not to deviate from the usual practice, she was, by Robert Bruce, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, solemnly crowned. Melvil assisted at the ceremony, and delivered a Latin discourse to the ambassadors who were present, which was heard with much admiration, and which so gratified the King, that he said to Melvil, that he had honoured him and his country, at the same time commanding it to be immediately printed. * CHAP. VII. 1590.

When the King embarked, he committed the administration of government to the Duke of Lennox, Bothwell, a man unworthy of this mark of confidence, and Sir Robert Melvil, instructing them to direct their attention to ecclesiastical arrangements, and to consult with the most learned and respectable of the ministers. † The clergy made the most strenuous exertions to preserve tranquillity, and to guard against the insidious attempts which were designed to corrupt the principles and the loyalty of the people. They corresponded with the council, suggested what they conceived to be the Exertions of the Clergy to preserve tranquillity during the King's visit to Denmark.

* Spottiswoode, p. 380, 381. The primate's account of the dispute about anointing does not correspond with that given by Calderwood in his MSS. Vol. IV. p. 196—198, and by Wodrow in his MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Bruce, p. 9—11. It appears to be incorrect, and to display want of candour. Calderwood's printed History, p. 245 and 255. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 54, 55.

† Melvil's Memoirs, p. 181. Spottiswoode, p. 379. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Robert Bruce, p. 8.

CHAP. VII. 1590.

most effectual means for preventing the renewal of dissension; upon the appearance of danger they prepared, with undaunted resolution, to maintain the religion of the kingdom, by protecting the laws and the prerogative of the King; and to them it was, in a great degree, attributed, that all the designs of a turbulent and unprincipled faction were defeated. For the zeal of his loyalty, Robert Bruce, who has been already mentioned, was peculiarly distinguished. In him the King reposed the utmost confidence; he corresponded with him whilst he was in Denmark; and, before his return, he wrote to him a letter of thanks, which was accompanied by another from the chancellor, declaring, that his pains in composing differences, and in resisting faction, had been of eminent service during the absence of the King. *

James expresses his gratitude.

The steadiness with which, in a season of much real danger, the clergy had thus supported the throne, tended to shew, that there was nothing in the principles which they avowed inconsistent with monarchy. James accordingly became much more favourably disposed to them than he had before been; and he was confirmed in this by the chan-

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 168, and printed History, p. 245 and 248. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Bruce, p. 8 and 9, and Vol. IV. quarto, Appendix to Bruce's Life. The King's letters to Bruce shew how highly he was at this time esteemed by his sovereign. Row's MS. Hist. p. 56. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 288.

cellor, and by the representation of Sir James Melvil, to whom he was inclined to listen with the utmost respect. * 1590.

The General Assembly met in August. James Melvil, who had been moderator of the former Assembly, in his exhortation urged the propriety of pressing for the ratification of the discipline or polity of the church, stating, that the King might now grant their request, from having found, by good experience, in his absence, the fidelity, the love, and the care of the ministry. James attended one of the sessions, when the Assembly intreated that he would confirm the liberties of the church; that he would banish all Jesuits from his dominions; and that he would provide a sufficient stipend for every parish. He replied, that, in all parliaments, the liberties of the church were in the first place secured, and that he should take care that the practice was continued; that he had shewn how anxious he was to remove the enemies of the Protestant faith; and that, as the request for competent stipends involved the interests of many, he wished that some of the wisest of their number should be appointed

King's speech in the General Assembly. August.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 186. Craword's Lives of Officers of State, p. 150. Melvil gave, with respect to the clergy, this judicious counsel, "Let devout and discreet ministers be chosen, whose Christian lives may preach as well as their doctrine; and such ought to be provided with sufficient local stipends, neither too much to entice them to avarice, nor too little to make them indigent, and give them ground in their preachings to cry out poverty."

CHAP. VII. 1590.

to meet with the council, to assist in devising a plan by which the object in view might be obtained. He then lamented the feuds and divisions which had entailed so much misery upon Scotland; earnestly exhorted the ministers to use their endeavours to eradicate a spirit so inconsistent with the benevolence of pure religion; recommended zeal in reforming themselves, and he thus strikingly concluded: "I praise God that I was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the Gospel,—to such a place as to be King of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk of the world. The kirk of Geneva keep Pasch and Yule, What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil said mass in English,—they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." *

This speech was heard, by the great part of those

* Spottiswoode, p. 382, has given part of this memorable speech, but has uncandidly suppressed the conclusion. The whole is given by Calderwood in his MS. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 204, 205, and his printed work, p. 256, erroneously 286. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 292—300. The speech, as might be expected, has been noticed by Neal in his History of the Puritans, and by Pierce in his Vindication of the Dissenters.

to whom it was addressed, with the strongest emotions of gratitude and delight;—many wept, and they expressed, by thanksgiving to God, and by admiration of the monarch, the effect which had been produced on their minds.* They naturally concluded, that all the prejudices which he had entertained against the ministers had, by their patriotic and loyal exertions, been removed; that he saw their system of polity in the same light in which they had long regarded it; and that they might now look with confidence to the completion of that ecclesiastical constitution which they believed to be best calculated for disseminating the blessings of religion, and preserving the rights and liberties of the people. Fully convinced of the wisdom of the admonition which, at the opening of the Assembly, had been with much energy given to them, they petitioned the King and council, that all the laws which had been made for the good of the church should be ratified,—that a new act of parliament should be framed, establishing the jurisdiction of the church, general and synodal assemblies, presbyteries and

1590.

Petitions presented to him by the Church

* Calderwood, p. 257. Some, however, did not give credit to the declarations of the King. Wodrow, in his MSS. Life of Davidson, p. 40, Vol. I. folio, mentions, that this zealous minister said to some who were sitting by him; "I know well, for all these professions the King makes, he will not prove sincere, but will bring in the English modes, and rob us of our privileges." Calderwood, when he introduces this part of the speech, says, that it was spoken to please the Assembly. This he did from experience.

CHAP. VII. 1590.

discipline,—that all acts contrary to the said jurisdiction should be repealed,—and that until a parliament could be held, their demand might be sanctioned by the council, or a convention of the estates. To this they added other supplications, which also related to very important arrangements. They petitioned that laws should be made for securing to the ministers manses and glebes, and for preventing the violation of the Sabbath, or the interruption of public worship; and they concluded by praying, that all churches within the country should be sufficiently planted with ministers, teachers, and other necessary office-bearers, that sufficient stipends for serving the cure should be appointed to them out of the readiest of the tithes, and other rents mortified to the use of the church,—and that the rest should be bestowed upon colleges, upon the education of youth, the support of the poor, and for preserving the buildings set apart for the services of religion.*

It is impossible to pay the slightest attention to the history of the Scotish church, without being struck with the unremitted attention which was paid by its ministers to secure the advantages of a well-regulated system of education. They blended the

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 401, 402. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 205, and printed History, p. 257. Spottiswoode has given a very imperfect account of this Assembly, which was a most important one, and has even assigned to it a wrong date.

interests of the different seminaries of learning with their own, and considered the patrimony of the church as profitably employed, when appropriated to the maintenance of colleges and schools, without which they seem to have been convinced that the darkest superstition would soon be introduced. It is delightful to know, that the happiest effects have resulted from their laudable solicitude; that it not only laid the foundation for the gradual intellectual improvement of the community, but has actually imparted to the great mass of their countrymen, a degree of knowledge, a sagacity of discernment, and a soundness of moral judgment, for which we look in vain amongst the body of the people, even in the most enlightened European nations.

Conduct of the Ministers to the Archbishop of St Andrews.

Amidst the satisfaction which the Presbyterian clergy felt at the prospect which was now opening before them, they did not mitigate the stern severity with which they proceeded against the falling order of bishops; and the manner in which they acted towards Adamson, the archbishop of St Andrews, affords a striking example how powerfully party zeal blunts the feelings and perverts the understanding. This prelate they, from many causes, regarded with peculiar antipathy, and they omitted no opportunity of harassing him. When the Earl of Huntly was to marry the sister of the Duke of Lennox, the ministers refused to perform the ceremony, unless the Earl would subscribe the confession of faith; but the archbishop having, at the desire of

CHAP. VII.

1591. the King officiated, he was declared to be deprived of all office in the church, and this harsh sentence was in the most public manner intimated through Scotland. This proceeding, in the state in which the public mind then was, exposed him to many mortifications, and these, conspiring with the frailty of his constitution, and with the poverty to which, by his imprudence, he had been reduced, brought on him the symptoms of a mortal disease. In this situation he might have been permitted to remain undisturbed; but the ministers, although some of them humanely supplied his wants, required from him a recantation of his former principles, and a

April 8. testimony in favour of the Presbyterian discipline. The first paper which he presented was not considered as sufficiently explicit, and the synod of Fife, to which it was addressed, sending some of their members to importune him for a more ample con-

June 10. fession of his errors, he subscribed what was entitled an answer and refutation of the book called the King's declaration, in which he condemned the measures which some years before he had recommended to James, and said, or what certainly appears more probable, was made to say, that "the establishing of bishops had no warrant from the word of God, but is grounded upon the policy and invention of man, whereupon the primacy of the Pope, or Antichrist, has risen." * Even upon the supposi-

* Calderwood, p. 259—265, and MSS. Vol. IV. p. 214—221, has recorded the papers to which I have alluded. He seems to regard

tion that, in all this, the Archbishop acted a willing part, he should have been spared. He was so feeble, that he was unable to write with his own hand, and the ministers might have been sensible, that any declaration made by him under the langour of approaching dissolution, could not be regarded by those who opposed their principles as of the slightest importance, whilst it subjected themselves to the imputation of having embittered, by cruel importunity, the last moments of a man, who, from the calamities which had befallen him, and the melancholy reverse of fortune which he had experienced, was in a high degree entitled to sympathy, even from such as reprobated the insincere policy by which through life he had been directed.

Towards the commencement of this year, at the advanced age of eighty two, died John Erskine of Dun, who had been superintendent of Angus and Mearns. Descended from an ancient family, and possessed of an ample fortune, he early embraced the tenets of the Reformation, and he devoted his long and useful life to confirm and disseminate them. He opened his hospitable mansion for the reception of those venerable men who first attacked

Death of Erskine of Dun. March.

them as a triumphant testimony in favour of Presbytery. Full information is also to be found in Row's MS. Hist. p. 38—56. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 300—305, and in Baillie's Historical Vindication, part 2d, p. 2, and 37—44. With these writers should be compared Spottiswoode, p. 395, Mackenzie's Life of the Archbishop in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 312—375, and Spottiswoode's Refutatio Libelli, &c. p. 61, 62.

CHAP. VII. 1591.

in Scotland the Popish superstition; he countenanced and protected them,—and, after the reformed religion was established, he rendered essential service to its professors, and even assumed the clerical office, that he might give to it the most effectual support. Appointed to superintend the counties of Angus and Mearns, he for many years conscientiously discharged the duties of his office; he anxiously promoted the interests of learning; and he at length joined in the measures which were taken for introducing the presbyterian polity. His character entitled him to the esteem with which he was regarded; and his memory should be associated with that signal revolution in the moral and religious situation of his country, to which his unwearied efforts so signally contributed. *

Parliament deferred.

The meeting of parliament, to which the ministers had looked forward, when, in the preceding year, they presented their supplications to the King, was delayed in consequence of the feuds and troubles which government was not sufficiently vigorous to restrain. The Earl of Huntly, far from being reclaimed by the lenity of his Sovereign, was active in fomenting new commotions. He had, agreeably to the barbarous and ridiculous prejudices, from which even the highest ranks were not at this time delivered, been suspected and accused

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 6 and 28. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Erskine of Dun, particularly first and last pages of that life. Spottiswoode, p. 383.

of consulting with sorcerers for the destruction of the King; and having escaped from the confinement to which, upon this account, he had been subjected, he made an attempt to seize James in the palace of Holyroodhouse, that he might remove from him the chancellor and those courtiers to whom he imputed the measures which had been taken against him. Having concerted with some persons in the palace, he was, with a number of followers, admitted; but some alteration having been made in the original design, which was immediately to secure the King, time was lost; and Sir James Sandilands, who had supped in the city, coming with a number of the inhabitants, drove out the conspirators, who, in the darkness, made their escape.* CHAP. VII. 1591.

This outrage was soon followed by an event which excited the strongest emotions of regret, mingled with detestation and abhorrence. Bothwell having fled to the north, in the hope of being assisted by his kinsman the Earl of Murray, that nobleman was, by the King's command, invited to come to his house of Dunibristle, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, that a reconciliation between him and the Earl of Huntly, might be effectuated. Huntly, upon hearing of his arrival, obtained permission from the King to act against all the abettors of Bothwell, and 1592. Murder of the Earl of Murray. 7th Feb.

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 195—197. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 306. Spottiswoode, p. 386, 387. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1230.

CHAP. VII. 1591.

having with some followers surrounded the house of Murray, ordered him to surrender. The order was heard with indignation, and Murray determined to defend himself; but the house having been set on fire by the attendants of Huntly, he was obliged to leave it, and to cut his way through the enemies by whom he was encompassed. He took shelter amongst some rocks in the neighbourhood, but he was traced, and cruelly put to death. When his fate was published, it was universally lamented, and the people, to whom the amiable youth was endeared from being the heir of the Regent on whose memory they dwelt with enthusiastic veneration, threatened to burst forth into acts of violence and rebellion. Huntly for a short time withdrew; but, in conformity with the looseness of administration, which was then deplored, he was soon permitted to return to court, and he was dismissed, upon giving pledges that he would appear to answer any accusation which might be brought against him. The conduct of James deserved, and much to the honour of some of the ministers, it received, the most open and unqualified condemnation. He should have proceeded against Huntly as a murderer, impressing, by well-merited severity, the lesson which his subjects so much needed to learn, that the laws could not be with impunity violated, and that assassination should be branded with infamy. From the monarch, however, the rage of the community was transferred to Maitland, the chancellor, who was believed to

have stimulated Huntly; and it has been alleged, that anxiety to free himself from so foul an aspersion, was one cause of his giving, as he did, the most zealous support to the claims of the church.* CHAP. VII. 1592.

Perseverance of the ministers.

During these commotions, the church kept steadily in view the accomplishment of its great scheme with respect to ecclesiastical polity. The last Assembly had enjoined all ministers to subscribe the Second Book of Discipline, and every opportunity was embraced of urging the King to obtain for it the sanction of the legislature. Whatever were his private sentiments, he saw the importance of not resisting the wishes of the clergy, convinced, by late events, that, without yielding to them, his throne might be subverted, or the kingdom desolated by the horrors of civil war. †

General Assembly, May 21

At a meeting of the General Assembly, previous to the parliament, it was resolved to present to the King the following articles, as comprehending what it was the wish of the church that an act of the legislature should comprehend: "That the acts of parliament made in the year of God 1584 against the discipline of the church, liberty and authority thereof, should be annulled, and the present dis-

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 201. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 306, 307, and 311. Spottiswoode, p. 387. Calderwood, p. 267, 268. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 12, 13, and in Life of Davidson, p. 26. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 211.

† MS. Life of Melvil, p. 307. Spottiswoode, Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, p. 62.

CHAP. VII.

1592. May.

cipline, whereof the church hath had the practice, should be ratified. 2. That the act of annexation should be rescinded, and the patrimony of the church restored: 3. That abbots, priors, and other prelates, representing the church, and without power and commission acting for it, be not suffered, in time coming, to vote for the same, either in parliament or in any other convention. Lastly, That the country, which is polluted with fearful idolatry and blood, be purged." *

It is not probable that the members of Assembly hoped that all which they demanded would be at once conceded by parliament, because some of the points required much discussion, and many minute and delicate arrangements; their great object was to secure the establishment of presbytery, which would lay the foundation for a just provision being made for the clergy. It is at least certain, that the King satisfied them that it would not be expedient to frame immediate laws in relation to the three last articles; but, after some struggle with himself, and some expression of passion in the presence of the ministers who negotiated with him, he promised to give them full satisfaction as to the polity. †

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 415, 416. Spottiswoode, p. 388, 389. Calderwood, p. 267, 268; and MS. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 248.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 12, 13. It was at this conference that the King cast some imputations upon Knox, the Regent Murray, and Buchanan; and that Andrew Mel-

CHAP. VII.

1592. Parliament. June 5.

Legal establishment of Presbytery.

Parliament met on the fifth of June, and immediately entered upon the interesting subject of ecclesiastical arrangement. The petitions of the church were laid before it, and an act was soon framed, establishing the Presbyterian form of church government, as administered by General Assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and sessions, defining the powers of these judicatories, reversing all acts inconsistent with this polity, and conveying to presbyteries the right of receiving presentations. To remove every obstacle to the full influence of the ministers, they were, by another statute, secured in manses and glebes, even at cathedral churches, and were thus enabled to reside in the parishes to which they had been appointed. *

Remarks upon that establishment.

Thus was presbytery, which had long been struggling for the ascendancy, legally declared to be the constitution of the church of Scotland. Amidst all the intemperate zeal which occasionally marked the conduct of Melvil, and of the other active supporters of the discipline of Geneva, they displayed con-

vil warmly, but nobly defended them. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 250.

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 298—300. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 252—254. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 307—311. Calderwood, p. 268—270. Spottiswoode, p. 356, who does not shew, in his narration of this part of the history of the church of Scotland, his usual candour. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 295—297. Even, he says, "such was the act by which the Presbyterian discipline was settled in the kirk of Scotland." Collier, Vol. II. p. 636. Thus, he add., was Episcopacy at last abolished, and Presbytery established.

CHAP. VII. 1592.

summate talent, and admirable dexterity, in influencing the minds of men, and in taking advantage of whatever was calculated to promote the objects which they were solicitous to accomplish. Opposed by the executive power, which at one stage in the progress of the Reformation might probably have permanently established a modified system of episcopacy, they prepared for the contest which awaited them, by ingratiating themselves with the people, by professing what they really felt,—for it was the natural effect of their principles,—the warmest zeal for political freedom, and by unwearied efforts to impress upon those who listened to them the infinite importance, and the awful truths of religion. Still recollecting with horror the persecution of the Popish church, they shrunk from whatever seemed in the most distant manner allied to it; they preserved or disseminated the dread of Popery with an effect, which the former feelings of the community alone could have enabled them to produce; and being actually called to oppose the intrigues of men, who would have imposed on the kingdom the yoke of spiritual bondage, they procured full credit for their repeated and fervent assertions, that, unless the presbyterian discipline was sanctioned, the purity of the Protestant faith could not be preserved. The violence which they sometimes displayed was the natural consequence of opposition upon minds deeply impressed with the sacred nature of the cause for

which they were struggling, and actuated by the zeal which their peculiar circumstances were powerfully calculated to excite; but far from striking at the foundations of the throne, they rallied round it when they could conscientiously do so, and they occasionally extorted the gratitude of the monarch for the support which, in seasons of difficulty, he derived from their exertions.

The parliamentary sanction now given to the Book of Discipline was in the highest degree satisfactory to the ministers. It placed them in the situation which they had long been desirous to occupy; it gave them reason to hope, that, secured against opposition, they might now devote themselves to the spiritual concerns of the community; and it afforded to the King an opportunity of gaining their confidence, and, through this, the best wishes, and the steady loyalty of his people. Had he followed this gracious act, as he was prudently advised to do, by such a provision to the clergy as would have exempted them from the hardships of poverty; had he been careful to evince to them that he was sincerely attached to the Protestant religion, and that, whilst they laboured to defend it, they might depend upon his countenance, he would have identified their duty and their interest with the just exercise of his prerogative; he would have perceived that rough and severe censure, by which the ministers in their pulpits shocked his feelings and irritated his passions, daily soft-

CHAP. VII. 1592.

ening, he would soon have heard inculcated manly and rational sentiments respecting what was due to the person and the office of the sovereign; and he might have anticipated, by nearly a century, that state of the presbyterian church which has existed since the revolution, a state no less favourable to the constitutional rights of the King, than to the liberties of the subject.

A deviation from this policy, he might have discerned, would, from the circumstances which had attended the triumph of the presbyterians, be followed by opposition much more formidable than that which he had yet experienced. He had, in a solemn address to heaven, in presence of the clergy, and of the most earnest of their adherents, professed his veneration for the church, as modelled by these reformers, and consequently every action inconsistent with this appeal to the Almighty must have sunk him in the estimation of men abhorring the looseness of impiety, and must have led them to regard him as a prince destitute of honour, whose promises or concessions, dictated by necessity, might the next moment be revoked or forgotten. And it was apparent that presbytery had been interwoven with the religious principles of the great body of the people. Hence an attempt to subvert it could not fail to excite popular indignation, which no virtue in the members of a new establishment, or no excellence in that establishment itself, would be sufficient to remove, but which, cherished by

those who were revered [illegible] defenders of truth, might be expected to p[illegible] most deplorable convulsions. CHAP. VII. 1592.

These reflections naturally arise from the detail which has been given of the efforts and the views of the Presbyterians, and attention to them will explain the events which have to be recorded in the account of the succeeding century, shewing that the vehemence which then was manifested, the systematic opposition to the measures of the court, the irrational and illiberal antipathy to every form of prelacy, and the persuasion that, without the extirpation of episcopacy, there could be no religion, or no liberty, were not the result of caprice or of momentary excitement, but were the precise consequences which an enlightened and philosophical mind might have anticipated from past events, taken in conjunction with that infatuated policy which, obstinately bent upon attaining its objects, paid no regard to the general laws that influence our nature, or to that experience which should have taught the sovereign, that in Scotland it was necessary long to follow, before it was possible to lead, the religious principles and views of the people.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

Printed by George Ramsay & Co.
Edinburgh, 1814.

00066915

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 05 January, 2016